FREE THE 12!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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BIG BUSINESS SPURS OPEN SHOP DRIVE

CRDC Opens Christmas Fund Drive To Aid 18

The Civil Rights Defense Committee this week announced the launching of a Christmas Fund Campaign to raise $5,000 for the relief of the 12 Minneapolis Labor Case victims still in prison and to provide aid and Christmas presents for their wives and dependents.

In its announcement of the campaign to all local committees throughout the country, the CRDC declared: "We need this fund not only to provide relief and Christmas presents for the families and children of the prisoners, but to give each of the twelve who are still in prison a 'coming-out' purse of $100 each as we did for the six already released. We also need money to provide transportation for the twelve who will be released in January.

"In addition we need funds to prepare for the next stages in our CRDC work: to fight for the repeal of the Smith 'Gag' Act; to regain the civil rights of the 18 prisoners; to combat the efforts of the Immigration Department to deport Carl Skoglund and to gain a full pardon for Kelly Postal."

The Civil Rights Defense Committee has organized the defense campaign for the 18 imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders since the beginning of the Minneapolis Labor Case in July 1941. It raised the large sums needed for the defense during the trial and subsequent appeals to higher courts.

Since the 18 went to prison last December 31 after the U. S. Supreme Court three times refused to even review the case, the CRDC has provided relief for prisoners, their wives and children, and has mobilized the support of over 350 labor and progressive organizations, representing more than 3,500,000 members in a nation-wide demand for an unconditional presidential pardon for the 18.

The CRDC is also engaged in attempting to secure a full and unconditional pardon for Kelly Postal, Local 544-CIO secretary-treasurer, who was framed up and sent to prison in Minnesota as part of the conspiracy of the Roosevelt administration, Minnesota employers and Daniel J. Tobin, AFL Teamsters Czar, to smash the militant Minneapolis drivers union movement led by the Trotskyists.

The CRDC is defending Carl Skoglund, 60 year old veteran of the labor struggle, former president of the Minneapolis drivers local, and one of the 12 still imprisoned, from the threat of deportation to Sweden at the termination of his sentence. He has lived and worked in this country since 1911 and has given a lifetime of service to the labor movement.

In a public appeal for contributions to the $5,000 Christmas Fund, the CRDC states: "Our Committee has taken the lead in the fight to repeal the vicious Smith 'Gag' Act under which the 18 were the first to be convicted. We must continue our national campaign to wipe this instrument of oppression off the statute books. Our fight against injustice in this important case will help prevent further prosecutions against militant leaders of the working class."

The Militant urges all its readers and all organized labor bodies to respond liberally to this Christmas Fund appeal of the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The working class must give full support to these militant fighters for labor's rights who have been victimized by capitalist "justice." Send all contributions to James T. Farrell, Chairman Civil Rights Defense Committee, 160 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

Education In Our 'Democracy'

American Education Week was being celebrated in Washington, D. C. this week by a series of teachers' meetings in which Negro and white teachers of the District of Columbia public schools gathered separately under a rigid segregation arrangement.

Dr. Rayford Logan, Negro educator and author, protested against this "travesty and mockery" in a telegram to the D. C. school superintendent, Robert Haycock, who replied denying responsibility for the meeting arrangements. Another lesson in official Jim Crowism.

Overflow Meeting For Jackson Talk On Negro Struggle

NEW YORK, Nov. 12 — Charles Jackson, writer of the widely-acclaimed *Militant* column, "The Negro Struggle," tonight addressed a record audience of worker-readers of the Trotskyist weekly at the Sunday Night Forum of the N. Y. School of Social Science at 116 University Place.

So enthusiastic was the turnout for the first public appearance in this city of Comrade Jackson, whose hard-hitting column has been quoted and reprinted by Negro publications throughout the country, that many were unable to get seats in the jammed lecture hall and heard his fighting speech on the "Negro Struggle for Equality" over a loudspeaker on another floor.

In the same clear outspoken fashion that has made his column so popular, Comrade Jackson delivered a searching Marxist analysis of the causes of racial discrimination in the United States and issued a fighting call to Negro and white workers to unite behind the banner of revolutionary class struggle for socialism as the only way to abolish capitalism, the system that "indoctrinates race hatred" as a means of dividing the working class and maintaining exploitation.

Comrade Jackson presented a devastating factual picture of the role of the "democratic" capitalist government and all its agencies in upholding and furthering the Jim Crow system. "What is the direct instrument of repression that condemns the Negro to second-class citizenship? It is the state, that is, all the various agencies of capitalist government from top to bottom. Through their actions and their failures to act, they condone, teach, foster and enforce the oppression of the Negro people.

"Who protected Noble Ryder, the recently freed murderer who lynched an aged Negro preacher in Liberty, Miss.? The sheriff, an agent of the state. What upholds 'white supremacy' in the South? The courts and judges. Who holds Negroes in Georgia in the chain gangs for stealing a loaf of bread? The state. Who leads the pack in race-baiting? Your government officials such as the poll-tax Senators. Who tenaciously insists on a Jim Crow Army, Navy and Air Corps? Roosevelt and his War and Navy Departments. Who carries out this policy? The brass hats in the Army and Navy."

The government, Comrade Jackson pointed out, acts as the instrument for enforcing the rule of the economic class in power.

The N. Y. School of Social Science is inviting all readers of *The Militant* to participate in the next scheduled Sunday Night Forum, Nov. 26, 8 P.M., at 116 University Place, to hear a report by Charles Carsten, National Educational Director, on the national convention of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party.

Two Ends Of The Same Chain

Why Chiang Keeps Blockade Of Stalinist Area In China

By Li Fu-Jen

The deepening crisis in China, and the manifest attempts of the American imperialists to exploit the crisis for their own predatory ends, has brought back into the news, with increasing insistence, the question of the Stalinists (the "so-called Communists" as the capitalist press refers to them) and their significance on the China scene.

The strategists of American imperialism, as we pointed out in *The Militant* last week, are bringing pressure to bear on Chiang Kai-shek to conclude a political truce with his Stalinist opponents and convert his Kuomintang-military dictatorship into a "coalition" which would take them in and give them seats in the government.

Chiang has thus far resolutely refused to admit the Stalinists to his government. Although formally in a "united front" with them, he keeps the large areas which they control under a tight blockade and has announced that he will consider nothing less than the dissolution of this dual power. A survey of these areas disclosing their geographic extent and location and their military, political and economic physiognomy, will reveal the reasons for Chiang's intransigence.

STALINIST CHINA

The Stalinist-controlled areas total roughly 1,000,000 square miles, which is nearly one-quarter of the entire country if the latter is taken to include Manchuria and other outlying territories. Their population has been computed at about 80,000,000, which is between one-fifth and one-sixth of China's total population.

The main area is an unbroken, though by no means symmetrical, territory covering parts of the northwestern provinces of Shensi, Kansu and Ninghsia. Smaller areas, commonly referred to as "guerrilla territory," take in parts of Hopei province, where the old capital of Peiping is situated, and the western part of the eastern seaboard province of Shantung. There is additional guerrilla territory in the middle China provinces of Anhwei, where the former Kuomintang capital of Nanking is situated, and Kiangsu, which contains the great port of Shanghai.

Yenan, in Shensi province, is the capital and administrative center of Stalinist China. By means of radio communication, command is retained over the isolated guerrilla areas which are also under Stalinist leadership and domination.

As we see, this "state within a state" is far from being a negligible factor, geographically. Militarily it has also to be reckoned with. The main area in the northwest is defended by a standing conscript army of 470,000 regular troops in addition to a "People's Militia" totalling 2,300,000. Then there are the partisan fighters in the isolated guerrilla areas. If you walk four or five miles outside of Peiping,

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'Contemptible'

The Stalinist ranks have a hard time trying to keep pace with the Daily Worker's flight toward reaction! The following letter, reprinted from the Daily Worker of Nov. 13, shows the pain of a harrassed reader.

"Editor: In an article on Oct. 31 (pg. 4) you state 'The charge that Roosevelt is a Communist is too contemptible for words.' As a Communist I resent this—since when is it 'contemptible' to be a Communist? Such a charge is 'fantastic' or just plain 'crazy,' but not contemptible, brothers and sisters."

Canada Trotskyists Map Action Program

CANADA — A national conference of the Canadian Trotskyists, with representation from major population centers, was held recently to discuss the major political and organizational tasks confronting the Trotskyist movement in Canada during the coming period.

Due to wartime repressions and restrictions, this was the first conference on a national scale which the Canadian Trotskyists have been able to convene in several years. It reflected the tremendous increase in the economic and political activity of the Canadian masses, who have been moving steadily leftward in the recent period as shown by the electoral successes of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the Canadian counterpart of the British Labor Party, and the huge growth of the trade union movement.

Representatives at the conference included active trade unionists and participants in the CCF movement. **In the spirit of greatest optimism for the future of the revolutionary socialist movement in Canada and internationally, they discussed the perspectives of the working class and adopted a program of action for the Canadian Trotskyists in the coming period.**

A national committee of seven, representing the Trotskyist groups in all important localities, and a national secretary were elected. The conference recog-

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NMU Officials Aim To Scuttle Union Hiring Hall System

By F. J. Lang

A delegation of Stalinist officials from the National Maritime Union (CIO), headed by Joseph Curran, attended a conference called by War Shipping Administrator, Emory S. Land, in Washington, D.C., November 10, where they presented their proposed solution to the alleged "grave problem of manpower shortages and fluctuations" in the maritime industry.

According to the NMU's official paper, *the Pilot*, (Nov. 10) this conference was an "emergency meeting of key persons from all sections of the maritime industry." All unions were represented except the Sailors Union of the Pacific. The shipowners were present in force and the War Shipping Administration, Army Transport Service and other government agencies had spokesmen in attendance.

The "emergency" character of the conference, according to the *Pilot*, was determined by the urgent need for "prevention of manning lags over the Christmas holiday period." Actually — and this is also revealed by the *Pilot* story — the November 10 conference in Washington was the result of a letter written by Joseph Curran and Frederick N. Myers on October 4 to Admiral Land, demanding that such a conference be called (see *The Militant*, Oct. 14) for the purpose of establishing a nation-wide shipping pool.

The Stalinist NMU leaders de-

(Continued on page 2)

State Anti-Labor Laws Strike New Blows At Union Security

Anti-Union Amendments Adopted In Florida And Arkansas; Defeated In California Poll

By R. Bell

The big business open-shoppers have succeeded during the recent election campaign in striking dangerous blows at the organized labor movement through the adoption of state constitutional amendments outlawing union and closed shop agreements.

Spearheading a national open shop offensive that is mounting in fury and intensity, the Southern Democratic Bourbon ruling class in the pro-Roosevelt states of Florida and Arkansas have shoved through precedent-making constitutional amendments aimed at undermining all union security safeguards and paving the way for the direct smashing of the labor movement.

At the same time in California, another pro-Roosevelt state, only the most vigorous opposition of the more widely organized trade unions was able to defeat a similar measure by an uncomfortable 3 to 2 majority.

All these open-shop amendments show a common origin. They are couched in the same hypocritical language and purport to safeguard the individual's "right to work" without belonging to a union. In actuality the measures would prohibit an employer from signing a union shop agreement and would prohibit unions from demanding such agreements.

Thus the proposed amendment 12 to the constitution of the State of California read: "Every person has the right to work, and to seek, obtain and hold employment, without interference with or impairment or abridgement of said right because he does or does not belong to or pay money to a labor organization." Florida's adopted measure provides: "The right of persons to work shall not be denied or abridged on account of membership or non-membership in any labor union, or labor organization." The Arkansas measure states: "No person shall be denied employment, nor shall any individual, corporation or association be denied the right to employ any person because of that person's membership in or affiliation with, or resignation from a labor union, or because of his failure or refusal to join or affiliate with a labor union, etc."

Seizing upon the opportunity

(Continued on page 3)

The Lessons For Labor In The 1944 Elections

By C. Thomas

The largest single factor in the election of Roosevelt for a fourth term was the overwhelming labor vote cast for the candidate of the Democratic party. In those states which were considered in the "doubtful" column, the labor vote in the large industrial centers proved decisive. It was conceded at the very beginning of the campaign that unless the workers were aroused to active participation the chances for Roosevelt's reelection were questionable. As it was expressed by political commentators, a "small" vote would favor Dewey, a "Large" vote, Roosevelt. The CIO Political Committee thus played a major role in overcoming the apathy of the workers and herding them to the polls in record numbers to cast their ballots for Roosevelt. This was no small accomplishment.

The campaign was distinguished by the lack of any discernible differences, either on foreign or domestic policy, between the contending capitalist candidates and parties. The burning issues confronting the American workers were buried beneath an avalanche of campaign oratory and propaganda, compounded of demagogy, fantasy and fear. Where dema-

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"Who Really Won"

gogy and fantasy alone were insufficient to accuse the workers, fear proved a most effective goad. Fear was crowned King in the 1944 presidential election campaign. Fear of unemployment, insecurity and want, drove the workers to the polls to cast their votes AGAINST a return to the catastrophic crisis which followed shortly after the last war.

Both capitalist candidates made the question of "jobs" the central theme of their campaign speeches. Dewey harped on the fact that under the "New Deal" this country remained in the throes of an economic crisis which extended over a longer period than any other "depression" in the history of America — and was ended only by the war. Roosevelt pointed to the Hoover era to prove that the Democrats had "inherited" the Great Depression from the Republicans. By this exchange of recriminations, both candidates aimed to obscure the fact that crises and wars are an inevitable consequence of the decaying capitalist system.

CIO-PAC METHODS

The CIO-PAC lent its aid to this deception. Dewey was equated with Hoover and the economic crisis. Roosevelt was portrayed as the "saviour" who rescued the workers after the 1929 crash through the social reforms of the New Deal. This refrain was unceasingly dinned into the ears of the workers. The method was crude but effective. The image of job lines and hunger marches, of eviction riots and Hoovervilles, was paraded before the workers in a calculated effort to frighten them out of their apathy. Millions of leaflets and pamphlets, editorials and articles in the union papers, speeches at countless union meetings, concentrated on this "scare" propaganda.

The labor bureaucrats carefully refrained from mentioning the labor record of the past Roosevelt administration. The wage and job freeze, the rising cost of living, the fraud of Roosevelt's "equality of sacrifice" program, labor conscription, anti-strike laws and anti-labor repressions, the fact that Roosevelt himself had declared the New Deal dead, found no place in the campaign literature of the CIO-PAC. All of this was blanketed by a cloud of demagogy in an effort to obliterate everything but the memory of the "Republican" depression. Every gain made by labor in the past decade was credited to Roosevelt whose responsibility for a host of anti-labor measures adopted in recent years was care-

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Norman Thomas Brings Libel Suit Against Daniel J. Tobin

The unbridled slander campaign being conducted by Daniel J. Tobin, czar of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, in his personal organ, *International Teamster*, has involved Tobin and his assistant editor Lester M. Hunt, in a $500,000 suit for "malicious libel." This suit has been brought by the Socialist Party leader, Norman Thomas.

TOBIN

The basis for the libel action is an article written by Hunt and recently published in Tobin's magazine which endorsed peacetime conscription and accused Thomas of being an ally and agent of Hitler. "Norman Thomas has a postwar plan," Hunt wrote. "His 'plan' fits in perfectly with Hitler's plan for future conquest, which is not surprising when you remember that Thomas is the head of the Socialist Party in the United States while Hitler is the leader of the Socialist Party of Germany."

Through his poison penman Hunt, Tobin has lifted this type of scurrilous accusation right out of the Stalinist press and applied it—a bit crudely—for his own reactionary purposes. The Stalinists, it is well-known, accuse everyone in the labor movement who will not go along with their program of sell-out to Wall Street and to the Roosevelt war-machine, as "agents of Hitler," "fifth columnists," etc.

UNITED FRONT

Tobin first took over this smear technique from the red-baiting Stalinist press when he formed a united front with them against the 18 Trotskyists whom he helped railroad to prison in the Minneapolis Labor frameups. Every issue of his magazine in the past half year has carried articles repeating the Stalinist lies and adding a few of his own invention against the imprisoned Socialist Workers Party and CIO Truck-drivers leaders.

In the August issue of **International Teamster**, for example, Tobin's executive assistant, Thomas E. Flinn, sought to whip up a lynch spirit against the Trotskyists in the following manner. "The Trotskyists," Flinn wrote, "were wrong in Russia. They were wrong in the United States. Fortunately Trotsky is now dead. Unfortunately, too many of his followers are not." In an exchange of courtesies these and other slanders were widely reprinted in the Stalinist sheets.

Tobin employs these vicious methods for the same reasons that he engineered the original frameup in the Minneapolis case. He aims thereby to smokescreen his own crimes against the labor movement and to vilify and suppress all those in labor's ranks who oppose in any way his reactionary political and trade-union policies. Progressive labor must unite in the fight

(Continued on page 2)

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Close-up View Of Stalinist Skullduggery

As practitioners of bureaucratic skullduggery and violence to union democracy, there are no more brazen and unrestrained elements in the labor movement than the Stalinists. These reactionary exponents of the capitalist "war for democracy" are conducting a ruthless war of their own against democracy in the trade unions.

Several weeks ago we received a description from a Chicago International Harvester tractor plant worker of what the Stalinist machine did in Local 101, CIO Farm Equipment and Metal Workers Union. This description of how the Stalinist goons stole an election in Local 101 typifies the methods they employ wherever they gain a stranglehold on a union body.

One of the issues before the FEMWU-CIO convention last month at South Bend, Ind., was the appeal of six Local 101 members who had been expelled without a membership trial by the International Executive Board on the basis of charges trumped up by the local Stalinist leadership. The expulsions were part of the campaign of the Stalinists to retain control over the FEMWU. Naturally, the expelled workers' appeal never got before the convention delegates, being ruled out in advance on a flimsy technicality. But the Stalinist tops did seat their own local henchmen who stole the election for Local 101 delegates in a fashion that deserves to be recorded as an object-lesson for all honest, militant workers on how Stalinism operates in the trade unions.

* * *

Last summer, prior to the election of convention delegates, the Stalinist - dominated executive board of Local 101 trumped up charges against 6 workers of the anti-Stalinist tendency, whose summary expulsion after a farcical "kangaroo court" trial by a committee of international representatives was announced. The expelled workers were accused of "organizing a faction" and constituting a "dual movement" to the CIO, the Stalinist method of misrepresenting every rank and file opposition. The Stalinist clique itself is an unscrupulous faction operating under the guise of union office and using union funds and facilities to further its factional purposes.

When at a subsequent membership meeting the local Stalinist officials, backed by several international representatives, tried to pronounce expulsion of the six, the membership demonstratively rejected the star-chamber "Kangaroo court" action of the Stalinists. The leadership arbitrarily adjourned the meeting, preventing the expelled workers from receiving an open hearing and trial before the membership.

The next scheduled meeting had as the main order of business the selection of the elections committee to supervise the coming election of convention delegates. Having expelled leading spokesmen of the opposition, the Stalinists then proceeded to secure an election committee which would be certain to see that the election "went right" regardless of how the voting went.

First, the leadership announced through their *Local 101 News* that admission to the meeting would be not only by membership card but also by plant badge. When the members came to the meeting hall, they were confronted by a huge Stalinist goon squad, displaying arm bands. There were 45 goons lining the stairway and parading the aisles demonstratively. Included among the "sergeants at arms" were Stalinist recruits from other locals. Bona-fide members without plant badges were excluded; Stalinist "reliables" were admitted even though not members. The meeting was as "packed" as a can of sardines.

* * *

Even so, the Stalinists took no chances. Here is what happened according to the eye-witness account of the Local 101 member who wrote to us:

"Two leaders of the Rank and File caucus were kidnapped and imprisoned in rooms below. When one of them, Harry Deveraux, went to the wash room on the floor below, two Stalinist 'sergeants-at-arms' strong-armed him and locked him in a room by himself. Being a daring character, Deveraux jumped out of the window from the second floor and tried to get back into the meeting. But the 'sergeants-at-arms' locked the street door and refused him entrance.

"He shouted up to the members at the meeting which was on the third floor. Those at the windows heard him and in turn informed the meeting of Harry's kidnapping and exclusion from the hall. The members were all stirred up. Finally, a 'sergeant-at-arms' and a rank and file member had to go down and escort Harry back into the meeting. When Harry tried to take the floor and tell what had happened, the Stalinist Chairman, Isadore Lind, refused him the floor. When this decision was challenged and a vote taken, the 'sergeants-at-arms' hastily made a show of counting the votes—'one for you and two for me'—and announced the chair was upheld."

Before the vote on the elections committee, the chairman handpicked 5 loyal henchmen to tally the vote. The result was a foregone conclusion. They reported a 100% Stalinist slate elected.

* * *

When the actual voting for delegates took place, there were no watchers. The Stalinist elections committee was free to accept the vote of anyone—particularly the "ringers" who in the absence of watchers could walk in and cast ballots. The Stalinists had ruled the names of several Rank and File candidates off the ballot. Rank and File supporters were compelled to vote for their candidates by pasting a sticker with their names on the ballots. Three hundred and eighty such ballots were thrown out as "defaced." After five hours' opportunity to rig the election, the election committee finally permitted the watchers to observe the counting of ballots. The election committee announced a complete victory for the Stalinist slate.

Our correspondent concludes: "The watchers, after seeing how the election was being run, refused to sign their names to anything connected with it, saying they didn't want to take responsibility for an obviously stolen election."

That's a real close-up view of how the Stalinists operate in union locals on which they are able to fasten their bureaucratic and terroristic claws.

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Pamphlet Sales Reach 90 Percent

By Campaign Manager

With one more week to go in the Literature Campaign, many branches are too busy completing their quotas to send in detailed reports. But indications are that they will finish the campaign in fine style. Meanwhile, we publish from our recent mail more of the interesting comments made by readers of **The Militant** who are showing an ever-greater appreciation of the ideas of Trotskyism. The Minneapolis Case pamphlet set, including "Socialism on Trial," "In Defense of Socialism," "Who Are the 18?" and "Why We Are In Prison," comprise the simplest, quickest introduction to Marxist ideas that we have yet seen.

From Our Mailbag

Buffalo: We sold 72 more Minneapolis Case pamphlets this week—much of interest, but we will make the report later.

Los Angeles: **Our total to date includes 369 pamphlet sets, plus 46 individual Minneapolis Case pamphlets. This puts us over the top. One friend has sold 19 sets in his plant within the last month, in addition to obtaining 25 new trial subs. 6 sets, as well as 22 single copies of "Socialism on Trial," were sold to a meeting of longshoremen in San Pedro. Our Sunday mobilization, which had such great possibilities, was cut short by heavy rains. However, in about an hour we did sell 40 pamphlets and obtain 5 subscription renewals.**

It is interesting to observe that several readers of **The Militant** who had previously said they were "not interested," have showed a change of mind in the period of a month, and now like **The Militant** and are interested in the pamphlet sets. Very few people are antagonistic.

Minneapolis: We have sold 320 Minneapolis Case pamphlets so far, most of them at union meetings. Five sets were sold this Sunday noon at a local UAW-CIO meeting.

Seattle: We have already sold a hundred sets of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets and in the next couple of weeks we should sell a lot more. Not included in the score are a number of copies of "Wartime Crimes of Big Business" and the various Negro pamphlets which were also sold in visiting **Militant** readers. One reader we spoke to said he likes Kovalesky's column because it expressed the sentiments he felt when he worked in the steel mills in Birmingham for seven years.

Detroit: Some of the reports jotted down by our comrades after visiting readers of **The Militant** are interesting: "Likes Jackson column very much. Wife reads paper too. Asked us to stop by again for names of friends for premium subs." "Bought set of Minneapolis Case pamphlets, 'History of American Trotskyism,' and renewed his subscription for 6 months. This reader, active in the UAW, voted for rescinding the no-strike pledge." "One subscriber bought THREE sets of the pamphlets. Incidentally, practically all of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets we have sold have been in complete sets."

Toledo: We meet with good response in our sale of pamphlets. Our lack of time and forces limit our work, but we will not let up until the deadline arrives. We have yet to receive any comments critical of the pamphlets or **The Militant.**

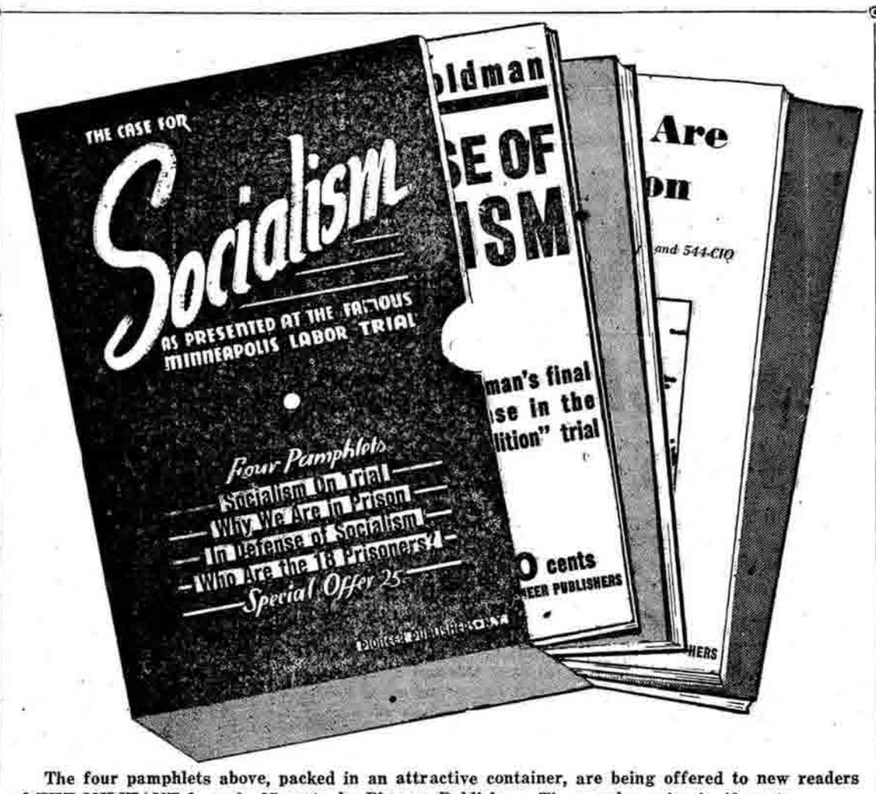
New York: We spent the week concentrating on inviting readers of **The Militant** to the Charles Jackson meeting, where we sold six sets of the Minneapolis Case pamphlets, as well as other literature, and had some very good discussions.

One of the many new readers of the paper who came to the meeting was a longshoreman who had been reading The Militant **for only six or seven weeks. He first saw a copy of the paper when his wife found it in the mailbox and brought it to him. He read his first copy while taking care of the children that night, and liked its ideas. He found out later that his brother, a Militant subscriber, had sent the paper to him as a premium sub. This worker is a great admirer of the Soviet Union because the workers have taken power there, and is 100 percent for a labor party in New York. He felt that the hundreds of thousands of workers who voted for Democratic candidates on the ALP and Liberal Party line showed that what they really wanted was an independent candidate for labor. At the meeting he bought a six-month sub to the paper.**

The New York totals to date are: 2672 pamphlets sold; one 2-yr. sub; 13 one-year subs; 392 six-month subs; 257 premium subs for friends and shopmates of the new subscribers; and 83 new trial subscriptions.

SCOREBOARD

	Quota	Sold	Percent
Flint	10	32	320
Toledo	160	464	228
Milwaukee	80	156	195
Reading	90	152	169
Philadelphia	80	100	125
Buffalo	400	492	123
St. Paul	140	156	112
San Francisco	350	388	111
Cleveland	200	212	106
Los Angeles	1500	1524	102
Rochester	140	140	100
Minneapolis	330	320	97
Youngstown	120	116	97
New York	2800	2672	95
Allentown	40	36	90
Detroit	1000	876	88
Seattle	500	400	80
Chicago	700	376	54
Newark	700	216	31
San Diego	80	24	30
Akron	70	20	29
Bayonne	180	44	24
Boston	230	40	17
New Haven	40	0	0
Pittsburgh	10	0	0
Quakertown	10	0	0
St. Louis	10	0	0
Texas	30	0	0
Total	10,000	8956	90



The four pamphlets above, packed in an attractive container, are being offered to new readers of THE MILITANT for only 25 cents, by Pioneer Publishers. The regular price is 40 cents.

Branches Celebrate October 1917 Revolution Anniversary

CHICAGO, Nov. 5 — An enthusiastic audience of more than 150 persons joined in the celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, held in Buckingham Hall in Chicago this evening under the auspices of the Chicago Local of the Socialist Workers Party. Most of the celebrants were workers from the industrial plants in the Chicago area where they had come into contact with the Trotskyist union militants.

Speaking on the Russian Revolution of 1917, Comrade Lydia Bennett showed how the first world war culminated in a series of revolutions, which, starting in Russia, threatened to sweep the whole continent of Europe before their powerful onrush and how the same movement is taking on life today in the revolutionary actions of the masses of people in Italy, France, Belgium, Greece, Jugoslavia, etc. But this time, she pointed out, the masses will be led by the Trotskyist parties in the various countries, and not by the Stalinists who are playing the role of agents and stooges for the Badoglios, King Emanuels, De Gaulles and the like.

The speech was followed by the showing of the motion picture "Ten Days That Shook the World," which reproduced graphically the events of the Russian Revolution, including the capture of the Winter Palace in Petrograd and the taking over of state power from the capitalists in the name of the Workers' and Soldiers' Soviet.

After the meeting many stayed for refreshments and conversation during which they showed their interest in the activities of the organization, some expressing their desire to join the party quoted the following passage from Trotsky's speech to the 10th Anniversary Meeting of the S.W.P. in 1938.

"Our party takes each one of us wholly. But in return it gives to every one of us the highest happiness; the consciousness that one participates in the building of a better future, that one carries on his shoulders a particle of the fate of mankind, and that one's life will not have been lived in vain.

"The fidelity to the cause of the toilers requires from us the highest devotion to our International party. The party, of course, can also be mistaken. By common effort we will correct its mistakes. In its ranks can penetrate unworthy elements. By common effort we will eliminate them. New thousands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level.

"But we will never forget that our party is now the greatest lever of history. Separated from this lever, everyone of us is nothing. With this lever in hand, we are all."

As a result of this meeting four people joined the party. At the end of the meeting a social for the delegates leaving for the 11th National Convention of the SWP was held.

DETROIT, Nov. 5 — The Russian Revolution did for Marxist theory what Magellan did for the belief that the world was round—it proved the theory in action. It showed that a workers' revolution could be won, and today we live by the lessons of the October Revolution, and of the Bolshevik leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, who pioneered the way.

This was the theme of Comrade Joe Andrew's talk at a meeting held tonight by the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, in commemoration of the 27th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Comrade Andrews discussed the importance of nationalized property to this first workers state. He showed how it has resulted in the development of Soviet economy in spite of the counter-revolutionary policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy, and how it is the underlying factor in the morale of the Red Army. The victories of the Red Army are giving new confidence to the Russian proletariat whose day of revenge against the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not far off.

"The Russian Revolution," concluded Comrade Andrews, "is alive today not only in the Soviet Union, but all over the continent of Europe. Workers everywhere are rising to their feet to throw off the decaying system of capitalism—in the streets, in the factories, in their demonstrations and their strikes, they are raising the red banner. And the great ideas of Bolshevism are also alive and spreading.

"While Stalin was toasting Churchill in the Kremlin with champagne, five sections of the Fourth International were meeting together secretly in Nazi-occupied France to organize for the developing revolution for the Socialist United States of Europe. Trotskyist parties dedicated to this combat are alive and growing everywhere. As the continuators of Bolshevism, they will rise to leadership in coming struggle."

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 5—Honoring the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party held a meeting this afternoon with Beatrice Janosco as the speaker.

"The workers of Russia created a government built upon workers,' soldiers' and peasants' councils, the most democratic form of government the world has ever known," the speaker said. "The Russian Revolution proved to the world that nationalized industry and planned economy is more progressive, more productive and far superior to any device of capitalism."

Citing the numerous betrayals of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists, the speaker pointed out that only revolutionary parties modeled on Bolshevik lines will be able successfully to carry through a program for the building of a socialist world. The meeting ended with the singing of the International.

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 8 — Speaking to an overflow meeting of almost 100 friends, at the section headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party, Murry Weiss in a celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution brought out the essential role of the revolutionary party.

Particularly interesting to the audience was his description of the relation of the party to the individual, and the reciprocal relation of the individual to the party. In this connection he

In answer to our Special Offer letter, one subscriber wrote as follows:

"What do you mean my three-month subscription is up. I haven't received even one paper yet. How long does this sort of a thing go on. I send two bits, get no paper. Send more money, get paper? Maybe so, maybe no. **Well thanks for the envelope. At least I am not stuck for a stamp to send in this request for at least one paper, even if it is an old back issue that has been kicked around the office for the last couple of months.** Thanking you for the enjoyment I could have had if I had received **The Militant** that I didn't get because my three months' subscription was up before I received it."

We will do everything possible to see that this subscriber gets **The Militant** for three-months. We urge every subscriber to write us immediately if even one issue of the paper fails to arrive, so that we can check our records.

* * *

Our Toledo agent writes about an idea which to date has resulted in one subscription to **The Militant** from a militant unionist:

"I would like to explain this one of several methods we employ to extend **The Militant** in Toledo and surrounding territory. We acquire names from comrades and sympathizers whom we think would like to subscribe to the paper. We mail them a sufficient number of **Militants** to make sure they are well acquainted with them and then we send a mimeographed letter asking them to subscribe, whether they would care to have a comrade call on them, or whether they do not care to receive **The Militant** at all. The letter with these attached questions can be answered by clipping the questionnaire part and mailing it in to us. Space is allowed on the questionnaire for their comments. I am sending with this letter a questionnaire returned to us with comments. This is a fitting tribute to **The Militant** and our stand on the no-strike pledge."

We quote the comments mentioned above: "As I was a delegate to the UAW Convention at Grand Rapids I have been enjoying The Militant **views on the Convention. I believe that your paper is a big help to the Unions who are for the rank and file members. I am proud to say that I voted against the no-strike pledge at the Convention."**

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Thomas Files Suit For Libel Against Daniel J. Tobin

(Continued from page 1)

against these Tobin-Stalinist attempts to introduce the poisonous methods of slander, lynch incitation, and political character assassination into its ranks. These vile methods which belong in the arsenal of capitalist reaction must be exposed and expelled by the entire labor movement.

READ
'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

NMU Officials Aim To Scuttle Union Hiring Hall System

(Continued from page 1)

manded this conference, they said, to get a *decision* on the following questions:

"1) Stop the exodus from the industry and retain to a man the full labor force active in the industry.

"2) Enforce wartime shipping rules strictly on a uniform national scale.

"3) Use every available man at his top skill.

"4) Set up centralized manning apparatus, able to handle large shifts of manpower from one area to another, to pool all available manpower, no matter where registered for shipping, and to guarantee the availability of seamen in all ratings to every company in the industry, including the Army Transport Service."

Such well-known Stalinists as Joseph Curran, Frederick N. Myers, Howard McKenzie, Joseph Stack, and Walter Avellar came to the conference, prepared to prove the need for a government-controlled shipping pool by presenting facts to show that the NMU is the only union in the field that has substituted the wartime shipping rules of the War Shipping Administration for the union system of rotary shipping. According to the government's wartime shipping rules a man cannot stay on the beach longer than thirty days. If he has been aboard ship less than four months before quitting, he is allowed one week ashore for every month at sea.

In their attempts to enforce these rules the Stalinists do nothing to maintain union standards aboard ship but instead have instituted a permanent trial committee in the NMU which hauls up all delinquents and, if they can provide no excuse for being a few days over-leave, reports them immediately to their draft boards. This dictatorial practice has created wide-spread revulsion in the NMU ranks against the Stalinist leadership. The revulsion has so far expressed itself through the exodus from the industry of large numbers of seamen who have shipped through NMU halls, and by NMU men dropping their books to ship through the Army Transport Service where they are allowed more time on the beach after long trips, or by signing up with unorganized companies such as Standard Oil.

The Stalinists, in attempting to have more rigid government controls applied to shipping, are seeking to protect their pie-cards against the rising wave of revolt in the NMU which their sell-out policies have engendered.

Trotskyist Action Program Is Mapped At Canada Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

nized the necessity for overcoming the war-imposed isolation, coordinating their activities and placing the program of Trotskyism before the workers of Canada.

A drive was begun for a national organizational fund, over 25% of which was immediately raised. In addition, a regular national monthly sustaining fund was pledged by all branches.

Two of the major activities planned are a national recruiting drive and a coordinated program of Marxist education through the branches. The national committee was instructed to draft the organizational details of the program of action and initiate it as quickly as possible.

The conference sent fraternal greetings to their Trotskyist cothinkers in the United States and England and messages of solidarity to Comrade Natalia Trotsky, widow of Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International.

The whole tone of the conference was one of confidence in the ability of the Canadian Trotskyist movement to expand its influence among the Canadian workers and realize the excellent possibilities for the growth of the party in the Dominions.

The conference marked a big step forward for the Canadian organization. Many important political questions were clarified and the practical organizational program was set into motion for the building of a proletarian vanguard party which will play a major role in the forthcoming struggles of Canadian and world labor.

Spanish Trotskyists Commemorate Anniversary Of The "Red October"

(In October, 1934, a general strike and armed insurrection swept over Spain in spontaneous protest against the entrance of three Fascist ministers into the government. In the vanguard of the strike were the militant miners of Asturias, surrendering only after weeks of attack by air and land troops decimated their ranks. The following article commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of this Spanish Red October was published in the most recent issue of *Contra La Coriente*, official organ of the Trotskyist Spanish Section in Mexico).

* * *

Exactly ten years ago, the heroic Spanish proletariat wrote in its own blood an unforgettable date in the struggle for its emancipation. The Spanish Red October cannot help but awaken in the world proletariat a profound respect for the revolutionary actions and perseverance of the Spanish revolutionists who will fight on until the establishment of a new society shall give to every man, woman and child the opportunity to live in brotherhood.

October 1934, a tragic date written in blood and grief, is also a glorious date of optimism and confidence. The road to the liberation of the working class is marked with such red dates, which recall each year the living protest of the working class against a society dominated by private property. Each year these dates proclaim anew the optimism and confidence of the proletariat in the building of a new society which shall realize the freedom and brotherhood of all peoples and all races.

October 1934, the date on which the Spanish proletariat irrefutably demonstrated its aspirations for liberation, makes us recall how the Spanish workers gave their blood and their very lives for the struggle to make a living reality of their hopes for the future of humanity. That red blood shed by the heroic proletariat, those lives sacrificed in the battle, are immortal. They find new life in the revolutionary action of the working class that is inspired by the deeds of the past. And each new revolutionary action is stronger, and clearer, a sharper expression of the determination to wipe out the monstrous and ignominious exploitation of man by man.

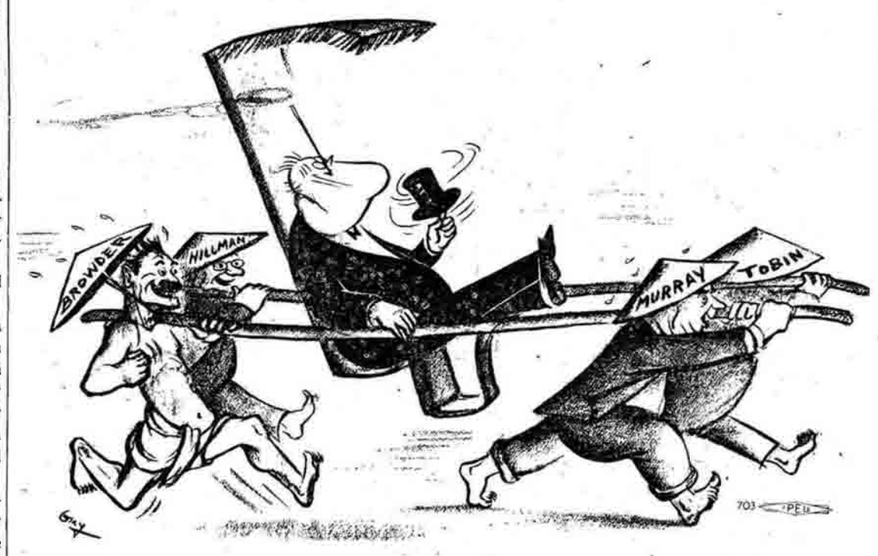
Now in October 1944, when capitalism—of both the fascist and the "democratic" varieties—has so far degenerated that it threatens all humanity with a return to barbarism—now the blood and the lives of the martyrs of October have more meaning than ever before. Today capitalism organizes collective death, spreads hunger in lands of abundance, and destroys all the treasures accumulated in centuries of civilization. Now capitalism celebrates its impending exit from the historical scene by piling up mountains of cadavers, as it amuses itself with the hunger of men, women and children, with the destruction of cities, peoples, and races.

Only the revolutionary action of the working class, written in its very blood, can put an end to this barbarism of capitalism. The dead of Asturias speak today in a living voice accusing all the traitors of yesterday, today, and tomorrow. The hands which fired the shots against capitalism, still point the way to the revolutionary road, and reach out in solidarity to all those who today take that road.

UNITE, BROTHER WORKERS! was the slogan of the red Spanish October. The slogan of yesterday is the slogan of today and tomorrow as well, for it was born in the heat of proletarian struggle. And today, more than ever before in Spain—and in all Europe—the workers' organizations which do not respond to the call for unity will be unable to exist, for the alternative that faces them is clear-cut: either they must take the high road of proletarian revolution, or they will be destroyed.

The Spanish group of the Fourth International in Mexico, reaffirms once again its fidelity to the Spanish proletariat which spoke in revolutionary terms in October 1934—in July 1936—and in May 1937, and pays its deepest homage to the fallen martyrs of October.

Roosevelt's Coolies



The Lessons For Labor In The 1944 Elections

(Continued from page 1)

fully screened by the labor "statesmen."

The choice as presented by the union bureaucrats to the workers was: Dewey and Depression or Roosevelt and Reform. Cutbacks and plant shutdowns had raised the specter of mass unemployment in the "post-war" period. The workers were greatly concerned over jobs. Every other issue was subordinate to the one of economic security. In his Chicago speech, Roosevelt promised 60 million jobs — five million more than were employed at the peak of war-time production and seven million more than are employed today. Dewey promised full employment on the basis of government assistance.

How were these promises to be realized? Both candidates endorsed the Baruch plan. The major sections of the Baruch plan are already embodied in legislative form. This legislation provides generous payments for war contractors, the "free enterprise" disposal of government-owned plant and equipment, and "states rights" compensation as low as $2 a week for the unemployed. Both candidates agreed that "Business" was to be given a free hand to perform "miracles of production." But this was precisely Hoover's method of dealing with the problem and it can lead to no better results than before. That is why it was possible for such outspoken agents of Wall Street as the *New York Times* and Walter Lippman, to endorse Roosevelt.

FEAR OF FUTURE

The workers were primarily concerned about the future. Under the circumstances the labor fakers found it more expedient to talk about the past. Not of the immediate past, to be sure, but of the economic crisis of the '30's. Finding it impossible to inspire the workers or arouse their enthusiasm for the Big Business program which both candidates espoused, Hillman and Co., resorted to the weapon of fear to shake the apathy of labor's ranks. Fear was Hillman's substitute for an independent labor program and party.

The CIO-PAC was formed for the express purpose of heading off the growing sentiment for labor's independent political action. The labor skates were well aware of the fact that the workers were turning their backs on the discredited capitalist parties. This tendency was manifested by an apathy on the part of the workers toward elections in which they were given no choice but to vote for the candidates of the Republican or Democratic parties. In the 1942 elections the workers stayed away from the polls in droves — with the exception of New York and Minnesota where they were given the opportunity of voting for independent candidates. The establishment of the CIO-PAC was intended to create the illusion of independent political action by mobilizing the workers behind Roosevelt, separately and apart from the apparatus of the Democratic party.

The frenzied campaign of the CIO-PAC to get the workers to register and vote was launched with the knowledge that the workers had broken irrevocably with the Republican Party but still had illusions about Roosevelt — illusions that have been sedulously fostered by the labor bureaucrats. A large labor vote would therefore mean the reelection of Roosevelt. That was the meaning of the vigorous campaign to register the labor vote. But although millions of labor votes were cast, not a single labor representative was elected to Congress although the results indicate that a number could have been elected.

In New York, for example, 800,000 voters cast their ballots for the candidates of Hillman's American Labor Party and Dubinsky's Liberal Party — but not a single one of these candidates represented the labor movement. Each faction had endorsed the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties. Despite the lack of independent labor candidates, 800,000 New York voters expressed their preference for labor's own political party, by casting their ballots for the ALP & LP. Where the workers had a chance to do so, they showed their opposition to the two-party system under which the political agents of Wall Street maintain their political monopoly.

Having performed the perfidious task for which it was established, the question arises as to what course the CIO-PAC will pursue in the future. Both Hillman and Murray have disclaimed any intention of fostering a "third party" movement — which means that they remain committed to the support of the two-party system. Hillman announces that the coming CIO convention will decide the fate of the CIO-PAC after hearing its report. The report will show that the CIO-PAC spent many thousands of dollars campaigning to elect various and sundry capitalist politicians to office. What benefit will the workers derive from this expenditure?

In commenting on the expenditure of effort and money of the CIO-PAC in the recent election, the November 13 issue of **Time** magazine remarks: "Now Hillman, like Miner Lewis after 1936, could try to collect dividends on P.A.C.'s' investment." Lewis used Labor's Non-Partisan League plus $500,000 of miners funds to elect Roosevelt in 1936 only to have his "friend" in the White House turn on labor almost immediately following the election with his "plague on both your houses" statement in the Little Steel Strike. Hillman and Murray will collect a similar "dividend" in the months to come.

The CIO convention must reject this bankrupt policy of depending on the capitalist "friends" of labor to defend the interests of the workers and take the necessary steps to launch labor's own political party to advance labor's own program for economic security

BIG BUSINESS SPEEDS OPEN SHOP OFFENSIVE

(Continued from page 1)

provided by the war reaction, the open shop fraternity has been pushing forward its program of legislating the unions out of existence. Since the outbreak of the war, 14 states have adopted repressive anti-labor legislation designed to strangle the unions in a legislative noose. Such measures had previously been adopted by both Arkansas and Florida and were being fought in the courts by organized labor.

It was with the intention of averting an unfavorable court decision that the open-shoppers submitted the proposals as constitutional amendments, thereby hoping to banish the union shop in those states for all time. The Arkansas amendment, which is particularly vicious, would even ban the WLB "maintenance-of-membership" clause, for which the top union leaders traded away labor's right to strike.

The union-busting campaign is being fronted for by a group of native fascist-minded scum organized under the name of the "Christian American Association," which has its stronghold in the southern poll-tax states. "The Christian American Association," writes a labor investigator, "some of whose professional promoters have long dealt in anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity, and the organization of anti-union lobbies, has sponsored anti-labor laws in forty-four states and has succeeded in having them passed in nine."

This combination of anti-Semitism, anti-Negro activity and anti-unionism, — the unmistakable mark of the fascist beast — is nourished by liberal contributions from the coffers of Big Business. This is the reality behind the fraudulent slogan of "national unity" under which reaction advances the interests of the exploiting class.

The strategy of this fascist scum is to concentrate their activity in those states where the coupling of their Jim Crow propaganda, their race incitation and anti-union agitation, is most effective. It is precisely in those states where the labor movement is relatively weak that this type of a campaign has gone the furthest. Thus the most vicious anti-labor laws in the country have been adopted by such states as Alabama, Arkansas, Florida and Texas. The labor movement has once again been taught an important lesson which must be burned into the consciousness of every worker: Race prejudice is a weapon of reaction! Labor with a white skin cannot be free where labor with a black skin is branded.

In California, where the organized labor movement has taken tremendous strides forward in recent years, the open shop amendment was defeated. The staunchest supporters of the unions in this fight were the Negro people who had an opportunity to express themselves on this question without fear of reprisals. In Florida and Arkansas, where the paralyzing terror of race hatred hovers over the head of every Negro, the anti-union program of the ultra-reactionaries was carried a long step forward.

The dangerous progress of the open shop offensive, which has made serious headway through the very election campaign proclaimed as a "great victory" by the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders, points up two major lessons for the labor movement. Labor must immediately take the road of independent political action against all the forces of capitalism if it is to beat back the legislative moves to illegalize the union shop. And organized labor must fight with all its powers against the Jim Crow system which has permitted the Southern ruling class to keep the Southern masses divided and incapable of halting the measures intended to destroy the labor movement in the South which provide the precedent for similar measures throughout the country.

The Militant

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Pioneer Paragraphs

TROTSKYISTS SOUNDED ALARM WHEN HITLER ROSE TO POWER

The great weakness of the American Communist movement in the past, as I have mentioned in previous lectures, was its national-mindedness, not in theory but in practice; its ignorance of international events and unconcern about them; its lack of real instruction and of serious interest in theory. These faults were corrected in our young movement. We educated a group of people who proceeded in all questions from fundamental considerations of theory, from international experience, and learned how to analyze international events. The mysteries of the Russian problem were solved by our movement. In article after article, pamphlet after pamphlet, and book after book, Comrade Trotsky opened up for us a world view on all questions. He gave us a clear understanding of the complexities of a workers' state in capitalist encirclement, a workers' state degenerating and throwing up a retrograde bureaucracy but still retaining its basic foundations.

Germany was already then becoming the center of the world problem. Trotsky as far back as 1931 wrote a pamphlet which he called *Germany, the Key to the International Situation*. Before all others he perceived the menacing growth of fascism and the inevitability of a fundamental showdown between fascism and communism. Before anyone else, and clearer than anyone else, he analyzed what was coming in Germany. He educated us to an understanding of it and tried to prepare the German Communist Party and the German workers for the fatal test.

The Spanish revolution, which broke out in December 1930, was also studied and comprehended by our young movement, first of all with the assistance of the theoretical writings and interpretations of Comrade Trotsky.

We took time in those days of isolation to study the Chinese question. I mentioned last week that during this difficult period our movement, despite all its poverty and weakness, managed to publish a full-sized book, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*. This book contained suppressed theses, articles and expositions of the Russian Opposition, written in the decisive days of the Chinese revolution, 1925, '26 and '27. That great world historical battle had unfolded, you may say, behind the backs of the blindfolded members of the Comintern, who had never been permitted to learn what the great masters of Marxism in the Russian Left Opposition had to say about these events. We published the documents.

Our comrades were educated on the problems of the Chinese revolution. That is one of the important reasons — in fact, it is *the* important reason — why our party has such a clear and firm stand on the colonial question today; why we do not lose our heads over the defense of China and the struggle of India for independence. The significance that this great uprising of the Asiatic peoples can have for the international proletarian revolution is clearly understood by our party. That is part of its heritage from those days of isolation and study.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, pp. 102-104. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 268 pp.; cloth $2.75, paper $2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)

American Trotskyism-- A Record Of Struggle

By F. J. Lang

In the spring of 1942 James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered a series of lectures for comrades and sympathizers of the party. As one of the founders of the Communist Party of America and leader of the Trotskyist movement in this country since its inception, he drew upon his experiences to teach young workers the significant lessons of the past so they need not repeat the mistakes of earlier days but can go forward to build the revolutionary party on the tested principles of Bolshevism. In book form these lectures are now available under the title of "The History of American Trotskyism" to the wide audience of militant workers in the trade-union movement of this country.

From page one to his closing remarks Cannon's theme is that Trotskyism "is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival, of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the early days of the Communist International."

International solidarity of the working class is the battlecry of scientific socialism. Thus the Trotskyist movement began to take shape here in America around the "Russian question" because "it is the question of the revolution itself, one that actually took place and still lives." The problems of the Chinese Revolution (1925-27) also became a "Trotskyist issue." Similarly the events in Spain (1936-38) were studied and analyzed more carefully by the Trotskyists than any other group in the radical labor movement. It was the Trotskyists who exposed the Moscow frame-up trials of the same period.

Today the first point on the Trotskyist agenda is the developing European Revolution. Cannon reminds his readers that "As far back as 1928 it had been recognized by our enemies, even the most ignorant, that Trotskyism is no provincial dogma. Trotskyism is a movement of world scope and world perspective. Trotskyism proceeds from the standpoint of internationalism and concerns itself with the problems of the proletariat in all parts of the world."

The Program And Its Application

The basic lesson of Cannon's book is summed up in one phrase — **program is decisive.** There is no substitute for a correct program whatever the field of activity — whether in the arena of world revolution or in the local trade-union scene. Trotskyists never compromise on programmatic questions. That is what distinguishes them from all others.

The program is essential, but it alone will not suffice. Given a correct program upon which to build, the important question for any political party or group at every stage of its development is: **What to do next?** How this question was answered at various stages in their movement by the American Trotskyists is told by Cannon in the informal manner of a teacher who knows how to high-light the lessons with intimate details of the struggle.

"The answer to this question" Cannon points out, "is not and cannot be determined simply by the desire or whim of the party or the party leadership", but by "the size and capacity of the group, the period of the development of the class struggle, the relation of forces in the political movement. . . . " These were the factors that in the final analysis determined the development of the Trotskyist movement in this country.

Following the expulsions from the official Communist Party in 1928, the next ten years were an against-the-current struggle to build a party. This job was completed with the founding of the Socialist Workers Party on New Year's day 1938. The tasks of these ten years differed according to two clearly defined periods, which were divided by the world-shaking events of 1933.

For the first five years (1928-33) the original Trotskyist nucleus remained a handful. Stalinism, clothed in the prestige of the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 in Russia, consequently attracted the most militant section of the American working class. The Communist International, suffering Stalinist degeneration, still lived. The labor movement here was quiescent, not yet ready to launch a counter-offensive against the employers' open-shop drive of the earlier '20s. These were the basic conditions that dictated Trotskyist strategy and tactics during the first five years of their existence as a clearly defined tendency in the radical labor movement.

During these first years the Trotskyists addressed themselves almost exclusively to the rank and file of the Communist Party, attempting patiently to explain and win them back to the program of International Socialism. Despite Stalinist slander, ostracism and gangsterism (Cannon's stories of how the Trotskyists protected themselves by organizing workers defense guards during this early period are among the most interesting pages of his book), the Trotskyists made quite a few converts from among the best elements of the Communist Party. But this was slow work, carried on for programmatic clarity over questions that seemed far away to the average worker, even those with the revolutionary courage and conviction to join the Communist Party of that time.

These early days of the depression were a time of world-wide reaction. This weighed heavily upon the vanguard groupings in the workers' movement. Nevertheless the Trotskyists stuck doggedly to the limited tasks imposed upon them by the circumstances. They continued to propagandize for a return to the program of internationalism, directing their main attention to the most radical section of the American working class within and around the Communist Party.

The new period of work opened up in 1933. Conditions changed sharply, both in America and on the international arena. The strategy and tactics of the Trotskyists changed accordingly. The rise of Hitler to power in that year without opposition from the strong German Communist Party demonstrated the total bankruptcy of the Stalinized Third International. The world-wide depression was arousing a whole new layer of American workers to revolutionary action.

This new awakening was manifested in the formation of independent radical groupings, the development of a left wing in the Socialist Party, an organized mass movement of the unemployed, and sporadic strikes. These strikes were harbingers of the great wave of resurgence that swept through the labor movement in the following year and culminated in the 1934 strikes that occured in every section of the country and affected such vast industries as maritime, rubber, textile and motor transportation.

In the face of these changed conditions the Trotskyists called for the formation of new revolutionary parties throughout the world. "From a faction of the Communist International we announced ourselves as the heralds of a new party and a new International," Cannon notes. Summarizing the decision of the American Trotskyists, he adds: "The time had come to transform our whole activity, to make the turn to mass work. Just as in our first days we had rejected the premature demand that we — with our little handful of people — drop everything and jump into the mass movement, so now, toward the end of 1933, having completed our preliminary work and prepared ourselves, we adopted the slogan: 'Turn from a propaganda circle to mass work'."

This decision marked the beginning of a new period in which the Trotskyists were to demonstrate for the first time before the entire labor movement of America the power of their program and the practical advantages of its application to the immediate problems that the workers face in their union struggles for better wages and conditions.

The Trotskyists undertook to consolidate the whole leftward moving section of American radicals into a powerful combat party. The first step was fusion with the American Worker's Party under the leadership of A. J. Muste. When the time was opportune to enter the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas and carry the program of Trotskyism to the young workers who had recently joined that party, the Trotskyists went in.

Throughout both these maneuvers on the political field — the fusion with the Muste group and the entry into the SP — the Trotskyists paid close attention to trade union work. They were able to demonstrate in the strike situations of that period the advantages of a correct revolutionary program. In this way they won the core of worker militants in the Muste group to their banner and took hundreds of promising youngsters —the YPSL en masse—with them when they were expelled by Thomas and his group from the moribund Socialist Party.

Cannon's book is not for tired radicals who want to read and reminisce about old faction fights, although he presents incisive portraits of all the leaders of the Communist Party and many other prominent renegades from Marxism. But these people are dealt with only insofar as they "were significant as representatives of the main ideological currents within the movement", as is so well explained by Joseph Hansen in his excellent introduction to the book. In this light many well known figures in the American radical movement are introduced as they cross the path of American Trotskyism — William Z. Foster, Jay Lovestone, Ben Gitlow (I Confess), Joseph Zack, B. J. Field, Hugo Oehler, A. J. Muste, Professors Hook and Burnham, the infamous Salutsky-Hardman ("half and half" man), Herbert Zam, Eugene Lyons, Ludwig Lore, Paul Porter, and Norman Thomas.

Pointed To The Future Of American Labor

But these are all people of the past. This book is addressed to the class-conscious militant worker who looks to the future. He will be more interested in the names of such men as Vincent R. Dunne (to whom the book is dedicated), Farrell Dobbs, Oscar Coover, Karl Skoglund and others who together with Cannon, are now serving prison terms for their revolutionary ideas. These are the type of men who represent the future. It was they who demonstrated that the ideas of Trotskyism have real meaning for all American workers. They were among the leaders of the great Minneapolis truckdrivers' strikes of 1934.

Cannon devotes an entire lecture to this strike, one of the most instructive of the series of twelve. Here we see the relation between the revolutionary workingclass party — the organization of the most serious and advanced socialist workers — and the mass movement, the unions. The Trotskyists organized the 1934 strikes in Minneapolis. These strikes were directed within the framework of the AFL against one of the most powerfully organized groups of open-shoppers in this country. The 1934 strikes transformed Minneapolis from an open-shop town into a union fortress. The new unions under Trotskyist leadership reduced the hours of work, created new jobs for the unemployed, won substantial increases in pay.

Within the unions the Trotskyists are the most selfless fighters, striving always to strengthen the unions and prepare them for the bigger struggles ahead. Their tactics are determined by the needs of the workers and the possibility for action within any given situation.

"The Great Minneapolis Strikes" is a chapter in Cannon's book which every union militant will want to read. It is a chapter in the history of American Trotskyism that points to the future of our movement. These "Minneapolis strikes" will occur again on a higher level of development in a hundred different cities throughout this country in the period ahead.

What The October 1917 Revolution Signifies For The Workers Today

The following is the full text of the speech delivered by Comrade E. R. Frank at the meeting held at Irving Plaza, Sunday, Nov. 4 by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party in celebration of the 27th Anniversary of the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

By E. R. Frank

We meet tonight to celebrate the 27th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, amidst the thunder and ruin and death of the second world slaughter, which is now already entering into its sixth year. We celebrate this 27th anniversary as the European peoples, repressed, tortured, starving and dying, are beginning to revolt against their exploiters and enslavers, are beginning to revolt against the imperialist barbarians, against the war-makers. Europe is moving forward with all the finality and grim invincibility of a glacial formation to the greatest revolutionary crisis in history.

We have celebrated the Russian Revolution for many years and under many different circumstances. But today we celebrate it in a spirit of revolutionary optimism, with joy and hope that after so many years of darkness and black reaction and sorrow, the skies are again clearing, a strong invigorating wind is again beginning to blow, and the clear outlines of the new red dawn are again visible on the horizon. We celebrate the Russian Revolution on its 27th anniversary with the conviction that the masses of France, of Italy, of Greece, of Belgium, of all Europe are beginning the fateful revolutionary march which will lead them to their own October Revolutions, where they, like the workers and peasants of Russia in 1917, will overthrow their landlords and capitalists, take over the factories and the farms, and proceed to build a new society on socialist foundations.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 is one of the greatest events of human history. The Russian Revolution took the body of theory of socialism, perfected by Karl Marx and Engels and added to by other brilliant Marxist theoreticians and publicists, and proved its correctness in action, without the possibility of any further doubts. It proved that the working class can take the power and can run society. This great idea of Marx, which set him off from all the utopians, the pacifist do-gooders, middle class social workers and uplifters, this idea so often scoffed at and laughed at by intellectuals and middle class snobs, was gloriously and in the most thoroughgoing fashion vindicated in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The Russian Revolution proved furthermore that the working class can create a revolutionary party out of its ranks that is fully capable of rallying the masses behind its banner and leading the struggle to victory.

THE WORLD STRUGGLE OF THE TOILERS

The Russian Revolution exerted its magnetic influence over the working masses the world over. What enthusiasm, what new hope, what courage, what heroism it evoked in the peoples of the world, especially among the youth. All of humanity was stirred to its very depths. It inspired and lifted up to its feet all the millions of downtrodden, of despised, the wage slaves, the household drudges, the plodding farm laborers, the colonial coolies and slaves, and it showed them that they can fight and win a new world, a new and better life. The Russian Revolution was thus not simply a Russian affair. It was the beginning of the great world struggle of all toiling humanity to organize, to gather its forces, to prepare for the heroic work of destroying the rule of the tyrants and bloodsuckers and to build a new government of the toilers, build the foundations of the socialist society, a society of equality, of peace, and of opportunity for all.

The celebrations of the Russian Revolution in the early years after 1917 were tremendous, tempestuous events. The working masses poured out by the thousands and tens of thousands, to pledge their support to the Russian Revolution and to the Soviet Union, the first workers' state, which emerged from the revolution. But these celebrations were far more than that. They constituted the oath of the revolutionary masses that they were prepared to march and fight and die, if need be, under the banner of the Russian Revolution, under the banner of its leaders, Lenin and Trotsky. Hopes ran high in those days. And the working class militants were convinced that the workers' revolution which had started in Russia, would spread from country to country, sweeping away the rapacious rule of the capitalists and landlords and replacing it with the rule of the toilers.

Well, they were not utterly wrong. The working class revolution did sweep like a terrible storm throughout Europe, in Germany, in Austria, in Italy, in Hungary. It looked for a time as if the whole rotted and putrid capitalist system which had brought the world the calamity, the blood bath of the world war, would go down under the blows of the revolutionary onslaught. But the path of human progress, of human advancement, is not an easy one. It is not strewn with roses, but rocks and it has many pitfalls and obstructions. The revolutions in Germany and every other country all went down to defeat.

Outside of Russia, the revolutionary leadership was lacking. The old socialist leaders who had sold out the masses to the war machines were able yet once again to betray the revolutionary struggles. The young Communist parties, first organized after the Russian Revolution and in response to its example, proved too inexperienced, too weak, too young to do the job.

With the defeat of the revolutions, the capitalists had a breathing spell in which to stabilize their rule. The Soviet Union thus found itself isolated, beset on all sides by enemies who were ready to tear it apart at the first opportunity. The country, which was impoverished and backward to begin with—its heritage from the Czarist days—was further ravaged by four years of imperialist war and three more years of ferocious civil wars and wars of intervention. The Russian people were starving, the economy of the country was wrecked. After the definitive defeats of the revolutions in Europe, and especially the dashing of the high hopes of successful revolution in Germany, a great apathy and tiredness seized the Soviet masses.

THE STALINIST BUREAUCRACY AND THE USSR

This mood of pessimism was accompanied by a sharp political reaction which saw the state power usurped by a new parasitic bureaucracy, headed by Stalin—a bureaucracy that was essentially nationalist. Stalin and his henchmen had lost faith in the European revolution, they had lost faith in the insurgent masses. The Kremlin bureaucracy gradually abolished the democratic rights of the Soviet masses, it ruled as an iron dictatorship. It began bringing back reaction inside the Soviet Union all along the line and it was attempting to make peace with the capitalists on the outside.

But despite the frightful reaction, despite all of the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucrats, despite the fact that they destroyed the Bolshevik party, the Soviets, the trade unions, a whole generation of the leaders of the revolution, capped by the murder of Lenin's co-worker, Comrade Trotsky, the founder of the Red Army, the organizer of the October Insurrection, despite all these crimes they still could not and did not murder the Revolution itself. Debased and desecrated though it is, the Revolution has still survived in its basic economic conquest, nationalized industry and planned production. So Herculean, so volcanic have been the powers unleashed by the Russian Revolution of 1917, that despite all these blows, it has still not been crushed and still stands as a labor bastion and as a monument of what the working class can do.

Trotsky Addressing Soldiers' Soviet

A remarkable photograph of the Council of Soldiers' Deputies in session in the Duma at Petrograd, 1917. Comrade Trotsky, addressing the session, is at the speakers' rostrum in the upper left hand section of the picture.

The superiority of the soviet system over capitalism, its greater dynamic power, was demonstrated in the most dramatic fashion possible in peace and now in war. While the whole world was hurtling downward in the convulsive economic crisis that gripped capitalism in 1929, the Soviet Union, despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, was recording economic progress and achievements, in the period of the Five-Year Plans, on an unheard of scale.

And in the crucial and decisive test of war, the Russian Revolution has proved itself, has vindicated itself once again. The whole capitalist world, including all the generals, admirals, all of its military experts, all of its statesmen and publicists and advisers have been astounded by the invincible power displayed by the Red Army. The whole capitalist world, including Hitler and his Nazi gang, counted on a rapid defeat of the Soviet Union. They, just as we Trotskyists, understood the lack of viability of the murderous Stalinist caste. They, just as we, understood that the Soviet masses hated and despised the greedy and tyrannical Kremlin oligarchy.

FUNDAMENTAL CONQUEST OF REVOLUTION REMAINS

But we saw further, we saw beyond that. We saw that the fundamental conquest of the Russian Revolution still remained, that therefore despite Stalin and against Stalin, the Soviet Union had to be defended. And that is exactly the way the Soviet masses understood it too. They performed miracles in beating back the enemy, in saving the Soviet Union from capitalist depradation. The whole history of military warfare has no precedent of a nation that was able to absorb the defeats and blows which the Red Armies suffered, survive despite these defeats, and then unleash an offensive of such superb proportions, and in such a sustained manner. With the unprecedented victories of the Red Army, the Soviet Union has emerged as a first class military power.

But these victories, far from giving the Stalinist bureaucracy new hope and faith in the working class and in the working class revolution, has thrown them even further into the arms of world imperialism. Twenty years ago, Stalin and his gang of cynical bureaucrats lost faith in the working class revolution and proclaimed his nationalistic and utopian concept of building socialism in Russia alone. Today, Stalin and the Kremlin bureaucracy stand in deadly fear of this same working class revolution which they denied and repudiated two decades ago. This bureaucracy stands in total contradiction to the economy of the Soviet Union and its needs, it is distrusted and hated by the Soviet masses. The Kremlin bureaucracy understands that a revolution in Europe would again lift up to their feet the Soviet masses, would revive their revolutionary courage and perspective, that these masses would proceed to overthrow the infamous Stalinist caste and restore the Soviet Union on the political foundations of its founders, Lenin and Trotsky, on the foundations of Soviet, of working-class democracy.

It is this specter of the European revolution that has already clearly announced itself in Italy and France and elsewhere. It is this specter that strikes terror in the heart of Stalin just as it strikes terror in the hearts of all the imperialists. It is this specter that has thrown Stalin into the arms of Roosevelt and Churchill. It is this fear that has brought them together at Teheran to plot and scheme and conspire against the insurgent masses of Europe, to attempt to side-track, to deflect and if necessary to strangle the revolution.

They have tremendous powers, these three evil old men, that met behind closed doors at Teheran. They have armies and navies and air fleets at their disposal and subject to their command. And it is this military power that they count on in their counter-revolutionary plans. But the revolution also has resources at its command. The Russian Revolution proved over and over again that once the people are determined to take their fate into their own hands, they become inured to hardship and contemptuous of death.

THE COMING REVOLUTIONARY WAVE

The hot breath of the revolution pervades everywhere, including the armies, which are made up in the main of workers and farmers. Before the power of the revolution, armies have been known to melt away; to go over at times to the side of the revolution; before the onslaught of the revolution, thrones have toppled and kingdoms hundreds of years old have perished. And the revolutionary wave which will sweep across Europe in this coming period will be more widespread, more powerful, stronger than the wave of revolutions of of 1917 to 1923.

The rebellion has already started against the torments, the brutalities, the horrors of the war, of decaying and decomposing capitalism. The masses thirst for a decisive change; they are groping for a way out of the capitalist madhouse. Far more likely than the definitive crushing of this wave of revolution by the military forces of Anglo-American imperialism and of the Kremlin bureaucracy, is the fraternization of the revolutionary masses with the rank and file soldiers and the flames of the revolution leaping over and catching fire in England and in the Soviet Union and making its effects felt even across the Atlantic. **Because the tinder is dry and awaits but the spark.**

In 1917, only Lenin and the Bolsheviks were prepared for action. The revolutionary forces throughout the rest of Europe were weak, scattered and unprepared. Far different and far more favorable is the situation today in the camp of the revolutionary vanguard. The parties of the Fourth International were organized throughout Europe with a common program and an International organization, long before the outbreak of the war. The great founder and teacher of the Fourth International had done his job well. The treachery of the Social Democrats and Stalinists did not catch us off guard this time, but was fully comprehended and taken into account even before humanity was thrust into the slaughter.

With the outbreak of the war, of course, we lost all contact with Europe. We did not know what the Trotskyists, what the Fourth Internationalists were doing, whether they even survived the double blows of the imperialist war and the Nazi oppression. Europe was converted into a gigantic slaughter-house and torture chamber. Now and then a trickle of news would come through which told us of some heroic Trotskyist who had been shot by the Nazi firing squad or some Trotskyist who had been caught in the Nazi dragnet. But that is all we knew. But we know more than that today. We know that our faith that the Fourth International was indestructible, that it would survive despite all blows and repressions and would cut a path for itself when things began moving, we now know that that faith is justified and has been vindicated.

ACTIVITIES OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Just a few weeks ago we learned that right in the heat of events a new Italian Trotskyist party, a section of the Fourth International, had been founded with a considerable following, on the basis of our world program. Just a few days ago we received the inspiring news that five parties of the Fourth International representing the French, Belgian, Greek, Spanish and German sections held a conference in France in February of this year, right within the shadow of the Gestapo, to plan and coordinate their future work and to prepare the forces of the European revolution. We now know that the French Trotskyists played an important and an honorable role in the great Paris uprising in August, and that they took the leadership in many places in seizing the factories and organizing the factory committees.

We now know as a definite fact that the movement built by Trotsky has survived the blows of the war and the Nazi terror machine, that it is active, that it is growing, that it is prepared to shoulder its historic responsibilities. This is the answer, the most effective answer, to all the skeptics, to the faint-hearts, to those of little faith!

We have not reached the position which we hold today without struggle and without sacrifice. Unfortunately our list of martyrs is already disproportionately long. Our French section alone, we have been told, has lost over 100 comrades. And there have been many other victims. Let us take this occasion to honor our martyred dead. And let us vow, that through our work and through our self-sacrifice, we shall keep their memory alive and that their death shall not have been in vain.

Above the din and roar of the battlefields is already being heard the voice of the revolution. Above the mad chorus of reaction, of jingoism and of hate is already being heard the program of the Russian Revolution—the program of Trotsky, the program of the Fourth International. And this voice of the proletarian revolution, this program of the Fourth International, will every day become more and more compelling, more and more insistent, ever louder, ever clearer, as the only answer that can save the peoples of Europe from ruin and enslavement and barbarism, as the only answer out of the madhouse of capitalism and imperialism and its bloody wars, as the only answer to building a new society which will give the people peace, prosperity and freedom.

The European revolution will save and revitalize the Soviet Union and will take the road of continuing the task of liberation that the Russian Revolution first started in 1917.

Notice To New York Readers

NO FORUM SUNDAY, NOV. 19

Hear CHARLES CARSTEN on November 26, Reporting

"THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY CONVENTION"

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

Lessons Of November 7th

Why did Negroes in the industrial and metropolitan centers turn out and vote overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in the recent election regardless of the fact that under his administration they have experienced segregation in the armed forces and official relegation to second class citizenship?

The first, and least significant, reason is that some of them were duped by Roosevelt's slick political maneuvers. For example, as the campaign was going into the home stretch, he has his brass hats in the Navy announce that henceforth Negro women would no longer be barred from the WAVES and SPARS. This act, although set forth as a concession, reminded thinking Negroes that the reactionary policy had existed all along without previous remedy. Furthermore there were indications that both of these groups were soon to be disbanded and that what few Negro women were accepted would, in general, be used on a segregated basis.

Then there was the order abolishing discrimination on the army post exchanges and the change of plans in regard to segregated rest centers for returning veterans. These were puny midgets of concession compared to the complete equality in the armed forces that the Negroes had demanded.

Many Negroes, no doubt, also remembered the FEPC and the social security legislation which had been introduced under Roosevelt. What they didn't realize, of course, was that Roosevelt has not given these things of his own free will. Invariably, he did so to stave off mounting unrest in the labor movement, or militant mass action on the part of the Negro people.

"LESSER EVIL"

The second factor was that Negroes felt as a whole, that Roosevelt was the lesser of the two evils; that is, regardless of how badly they were being treated, the Republicans would be no better and probably would be worse. They remembered that Northern Republicans had united with the Southern Senators to kill the anti-poll-tax bill and the anti-lynch bill. This had happened even under the Republican administration when the Democrats were out of power.

They saw that the Republicans were aligned publicly with Big Business which, the young and progressive Negroes knew, bodes no good for the minority groups. Of course the Democrats are agents of the same wealthy interests as the Republicans but they at least made an attempt to throw out "left cover" decoys. This job was handled particularly well by Henry (you don't love me, I still love you) Wallace.

Then again the Republican backers resorted incessantly to red-baiting. The Negroes don't like red-baiting when it comes from the capitalists. Although the Communist Party has degenerated to the extent where it supports American imperialism, the ideals of the Russian Revolution and the Workers' State with its full equality for minority groups, still have great prestige among Negroes. The revolting red-baiting as well as foreign-born baiting led by Hearst papers cost the Republicans many votes that they might otherwise have gleaned from disgruntled Negro Roosevelt ists. This should further serve to enlighten some of our Uncle Tomish civic leaders who are not yet aware of the decided (although politically adolescent) trend of radicalization among the Negro masses. If you would kick the "Communists" — kick them for having abandoned their former revolutionary program; don't kick them because the ideal of socialism is opposed to exploitation for profit.

Final and foremost was the fact that the CIO bureaucrats had sold out their organization to Roosevelt instead of adopting independent political action. At the present stage of development, many Negro workers don't understand the treacherous role of their CIO leaders. They have tremendous faith in the CIO because it is the greatest factor today in fighting race discrimination. For that reason most of the Negro CIO members carried out the policy of the PAC-CIO without question, believing as they did that the labor leaders were acting in the workers' and the Negroes' best interests. That shows us that one job is already half done. The Negroes already will unfailingly support labor as opposed to Capital. Now they need to realize that the strength of labor in gaining civil rights for them is within the rank and file membership and not the leaders. The treacherous role of opportunist labor leaders now needs to be exposed.

NEGRO LEADERS

What did we learn from the actions of the race leaders? Almost without exception they flipped here or flopped there strictly for personal political gain and without consideration of the basic welfare of their constituents. No examples are necessary. The whole rotten story is there for everyone to read. A. Philip Randolph and George Schuyler properly exposed the nature and intentions of both major parties. But they gave no clear, concise and constructive alternative path for the Negro worker to follow. A sin of omission can have the same result as a crime of omission.

The political program of 25 Negro organizations which came out so militantly this summer with their "Negro demands" without which it was "impossible to get the Negro vote" withered away and died a pauper's death. Why? Because they did not follow up their original stand by exposing the fact that neither major party had even promised these "minimum concessions" in their respective conventions. These Negro leaders didn't even carry through the pseudo-militancy of a free and secure white man — Wendell Willkie. This would be comic, if it weren't so tragic.

The Negro press was largely split between the two camps, thus largely nullifying its total effect. They were fairly well taken care of, though, by the money-bags of the ruling class which sprinkled its grass well on both sides of the fence. But what the hell, we all have to live, don't we?

One of the exceptions was the Los Angeles *Tribune* which exposed both major parties and gave a pat on the back to Norman Thomas, the "polite leftist." Although the Socialist Party has become a negligible factor in the labor movement and is therefore able to do little in bringing us equality, yet support of the idea of Socialism reflected a far more principled position from the point of view of Negro equality.

If the CIO bigwigs had been forced by the ranks to throw the prestige and power of its unions behind an independent labor party, such a party would have received the support of not 75 percent but 95 percent of the Negro people. The fight for a labor party still lies ahead. The pressure must come from below. The Negro workers, doubly oppressed, must be and will be in the vanguard. They have felt and will increasingly feel the meager protection and increasing oppression under the slick left wing of the capitalist vulture.

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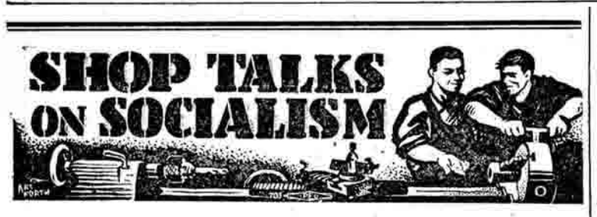

By V. Grey

Slim went into the washroom a minute early at lunch time, just in time to catch Scissorbill Sam (the bosses' man) pinning up a newspaper "ad" on the bulletin board. That's a favorite trick of Scissorbill's. He wants us all to read what Wilbur Whoozis says about hard work being good for the soul, and all that stuff.

But this was different. This was an "ad" of the U. S. Steel Company, telling how many owners they had. Do you think 86,743 people own it? You're wrong. Do you think 204 people own it? Wrong again. U. S. Steel is owned by 222,602 people. You might have thought that J. P. Morgan and his buddies owned it, but how could you still think so when it says right in black and white that 222,602 people own it?

Well, Slim was just starting in on Scissorbill, telling him what he'd do if he caught him pulling that stuff again. Then he started in on what a pile of crap the ad was anyway. By this time the fellows were coming in and opening their lunch pails on the benches. And Pop Philiber broke in. "Wait a minute Slim. You mean to say you doubt that company's word? You don't believe them?"

Slim said, "Of course I don't believe them. Don't tell me you do." He sat down and started unwrapping his lunch. And Scissorbill slunk over to the boiler room where he often eats with the janitor.

ONE OF THE OWNERS OF U. S. STEEL

"I didn't think I'd ever have to tell you boys. But you may as well know it now. Here on a dirty bench, eating a baloney sandwich, you see before you one of them 222 thousand owners." Somebody spilled his coffee all over from laughing into it too suddenly. "That is" continued Pop slowly, without paying this impoliteness any attention, "I am an ex-owner. I sold my interest in the firm. It all come about like this:

"I had been working along for years never getting anywhere. But I'm an ambitious cuss even if I am getting old. So when I saved up 60 dollars back in 1937 I says to myself, 'Pop, we're not going to have any more of this foolish spending on clothes and furniture and doctor bills. We're going to put the eggs in a different basket. Yes sir! That's me. Nothing venture—nothing have.' So I looks around for a week or two. And here's this U. S. Steel Co. It seems to be an up and coming concern. I ask the insurance agent what he thinks. I ask the guard at the bank what he thinks. They both say it's all right.

"You see, I read an ad in the paper too—something like this one, it was. Some high and mighty at the bank had a seat on the stock exchange and he could buy a share of U. S. Steel stock for me, and I'd be all set. Well sir, I became an owner of U. S. Steel for 54 dollars and fifty cents. Oh, yes, and three dollars for a 'brokers fee.' Pretty steep. The man said it would have been less if I'd bought more shares. But then what's three bucks when you're buying into a big outfit like that?

"Well I can tell you the problems of ownership set very heavy on my shoulders. I used to read up on all the new-fangled inventions in steel and I'd send in suggestions to my general manager." Pop sucked up some coffee out of an old whisky bottle.

"But what do you think? Do you think they carried out my orders? No sir. They just went on like they'd always been doing. So I figures I been too easy going on my help. I send this general manager a very sharp letter. And I stated the case right, too, I can tell you. I told him plainly that the woods were full of unemployed executives, and he'd better watch out and toe the line a little bit.

"That still didn't get a rise out of him. But in a week or two I got a pretty important letter from my financial office saying that a quarterly dividend was declared. And enclosed is a check for 25 cents. Well if they do that every three months, thinks I, I'll have my three dollars back in three years' time. And I felt a little better about the company. So I keep watching the mail for the next 25 cent check. But I guess I counted my chickens before hatching time. Because when the next three months rolled around I got a letter saying the board decided to pass a dividend. That means no twenty-five cents. It was printed on pretty stationery too," Pop said as he sucked up some more coffee.

WHY POP SOLD OUT HIS INTEREST

"Well sir, you might guess I didn't like this much. No indeed. I wrote letters about it, and I figured and figured. This corporation of mine just seemed to get the jump on me. But wait! That ain't the worst. One day when this thing had me almost goofy trying to figure it out, I gets another letter. Aha, I says, they're passing up a dividend sooner than usual this time.

"But it wasn't that. Nope. It was all about what a wonderful service Mr. Taylor had given the company. What a far-sighted man he was and all that, which I didn't deny, never having met the gentleman. But that isn't the point. The letter winds up saying that the board decided to raise this guy's salary to a hundred and sixty-seven thousand dollars a year.

"Well that stopped my clock! Pop Philiber, says I—You always thought you were a cagey fellow. But look at this. Here you are, an owner of a big steel plant and you pay your head man about a hundred and fifty times as much as you get yourself (for working in the shop, that is. I'm not counting the 25 cents dividend). There's something wrong here. So I just about give up.

"You fellows may think I should a tried harder to be firm with my employees. But it just wasn't any go. You can't teach an old dog new tricks, you know. And I'm too foolish about high living and extravagance to settle down and try to run a steel corporation. So I sold my interest and bought these here false teeth you see me eating with. I figured that was about the best thing to do."

Us fellows figured it was too.

* * *

The sixty richest families in the United States control all the big corporations. Their wealth is so big that no working person—not even a hundred thousand working people together—have as much money as the poorest of them. They can have complete control of a corporation by concentrating their holdings in strategic combinations with each other. Even when the "public" owns an actual majority of the stock, it is too disorganized and spread out to be effective in deciding policy, salaries, etc. And these sixty birds of prey easily manage to keep the voting strength in their own hands.

In order that they have all gravy and no gristle, they let middle class and occasionally even working class people buy small lots of stock—put their money in the company, so if a depression or panic comes, these small stock holders stand the whole loss. In a depression their dividends are "passed," their stock depreciates in value. And the boys at the top take what profits there are for themselves in the form of high salaries and bonuses, "preferred stock" dividends and what not. There are thousands of poor suckers like Pop who get fleeced every year that way. And often much worse than Pop. "Letting the worker share in the profits" this way, is just another slick method for the rich to get richer at the expense of the poor.

Under Socialism, not 222 thousand, but a hundred and thirty million people will own U. S. Steel. And not only U. S. Steel, but Bethlehem Steel, Republic Steel, Aircraft, Auto, Coal and Chemical, and every industry you can name as well. We will all own a share in everything. The dividends will come in on tick—every week—in the form of a bigger and bigger income. There'll be steady work because we won't lay ourselves off. There will be new and better methods of production because we want to make it easier for ourselves, and we'll have it done that way.

Chiang Kai-Shek's Enmity To Agrarian Reforms Explains His Blockade Of Former "Red" Areas

(Continued from page 1)

heavily garrisoned by Japanese troops, you will enter territory where these partisan bands operate. At night they conduct swift raids on Japanese outposts, disappearing in the peasant mass before the punitive troops of the invaders can discover them.

The core of Stalinist China is a parched and forbidding land, part of the arid northwest which stretches through the barren wastes of the Gobi Desert and on to Mongolia. The climate is similar to that of Arizona. Yenan, the capital, nestles in loess country and many of the people live in caves burrowed into the hills of yellowish-brown loam. The government offices, institutions and schools are in caves. The country is poor in natural resources and agriculture must be carried on largely by means of artificial irrigation. There is little industry of any kind.

It was here, in 1935-36, that the former Chinese Red Armies settled down after an epic march across the face of the country following their retreat out of Kiangsi province, and part of Fukien, in the south and southeast. Chiang Kai-shek's troops had tightened a cordon on their Kiangsi stronghold, with its capital at Juichin, and forced them into new and less hospitable territory. The Red Armies, predominantly peasant in composition, were the fighting forces of an agrarian revolt which continued to flare up in the interior of China as a belated echo of the great revolution of 1925-27 which the Stalinists led to defeat.

In the northwest, as earlier in the south, the Stalinist leadership carried out a program of agrarian reform. Since the area was so poor and at that time of little strategic significance; since, moreover, there were endless possibilities of retreat farther north and west through sparsely-populated country, Chiang Kai-shek virtually abandoned his attempt to really liquidate "Red China." He contented himself with establishing a blockade to prevent "Red" infiltration into richer lands to the south.

Within the "Red" area, land without title was distributed to the peasants and peasant soldiers. Some of the landlords' tracts—if the landlords were absentees—were broken up and given to peasant families. Landlords who were permitted to retain their lands and continue renting them to working peasants, were forced to take a substantial cut in their rents and were forbidden to evict tenants. To protect the farmers against grain speculators, usurers and rapacious middlemen, producer-consumer cooperatives were established. Schools free to all were opened—and even a university.

These reforms had a magnetic effect on the rest of China, just as had the earlier and more far-reaching reforms carried out by the Stalinists in Kiangsi, but which Chiang Kai-shek liquidated after driving the Red armies from the province. By thousands people flocked to the new Mecca. Students, teachers, professors, peasants, workers, shopkeepers begged or borrowed their way to Sian, the capital of Shensi province. They rode in freight cars or just walked. From Sian they trudged along the dusty paths and through the wild, high mountain country to Yenan. Many walked hundreds of miles to the new land of hope.

Meanwhile, the storm-clouds of war were gathering. The Stalinist leaders, acting on orders from Moscow, set their program of agrarian reform into reverse in order to achieve a "united front" with Chiang Kai-shek against Japan. The full story of this traitorous about-face, and the motives underlying it, was told in great detail by the writer in an article, "The End of the Chinese Soviets," which appeared in the *New International* for January, 1938.

Programmatically, the submission of the Stalinists to the Kuomintang was complete, but in the sphere of actual sovereignty there was only a formal submission. "Soviet China" became a Special Administrative District under the nominal authority of the Kuomintang government. The "Red Army" was renamed the Eighth Route Army (now it is the Eighth Group Army) and brought nominally under Chiang Kai-shek's command. But the Stalinists retained administrative control of the former "Red" areas and control of their armed forces. Chiang, for his part, maintained the blockade despite the fact that the Stalinists had "representatives" sitting in the People's Political Council in Chungking.

The programmatic self-renunciation, however, lost for "Soviet China" much of its former attractive power. Landlords and capitalists, although subject to restraint, were now protected against the people. Their lands were declared inviolate. In the course of fighting against the Japanese invaders, the Stalinists extended their domain, but in the newly-acquired territories the only reforms carried out were reduction of land rents; abolition of the multifarious taxes and the substitution of a single, graduated tax; establishment of educational facilities, etc. Property relations were left as before.

Together with the back-tracking in the sphere of agrarian reform, and in line with the continuing degeneration of Stalinism on a world scale, went a gradual destruction of the democratic liberties which the Stalinists had inscribed on their banners. The Soviets were converted into hand-picked assemblies. A police regime, cast in the image of Stalin's dictatorship, arose in Yenan, complete with GPU gunmen, prisons, concentration camps and firing squads.

PRESENT STATE

The tide of immigration into "Soviet China" which marked the years 1936-38 had by 1939-40 become a great exodus *from* the region. They streamed back by the thousands to be herded into concentration camps prepared for them by Chiang Kai-shek near the blockaded border.

But what had already been done in "Soviet China" could not be entirely undone. Some peasants had received land taken from the landlords. Land rents had been reduced. They now average 40 percent of the peasant's crop as compared with 60 percent and more in Kuomintang China. Tenants must pay their rents on time, except when crops fail, when both sides share the losses. Taxes are very much lower. There is little private trade, the bulk of it being handled by the cooperatives and state institutions. Prices are fixed and controlled. The currency is more or less stable.

There is very little industry in the territory, but what there is has been developed mainly since the arrival of the former Red armies. Some pig-iron is made in primitive furnaces from available ores. Some steel is manufactured and worked into light weapons and light machinery.

Because of the poor industrial development, a high standard of living is impossible. But because, as even the most prejudiced reports declare, there is still a singular honesty and cheapness of administration and little or no graft and corruption; because, too, everyone works (there is no unemployment or vagabondage), there is sufficient to supply the basic needs of life. The earlier equality of the Kiangsi "Red" districts has gone, but no one starves. The soldier has all the rights of the civilian.

What a contrast this affords with Kuomintang China, the China of Chiang Kai-shek! There a voracious system of unbridled landlordism takes 60 percent and sometimes more of the peasant's crop. Equally voracious taxes take another big slice. The peasants — and they constitute between 80 and 90 percent of the population — have so little left over from their labor that they can scarcely feed themselves and are always but a step removed from real famine. The landlords and tax collectors take their crops. The government takes their sons for the army. The government and the army are rotten with graft and corruption. The soldiers are half starved, ill-clad and, for the most part, without medical care. The workers are fearfully exploited and deprived of all liberties, including the right to organize.

In a backward country where appalling poverty is the general rule, even mild reforms tend to assume a revolutionary significance. That is why the Stalinist-controlled areas, despite the abandonment of the agrarian revolution, continue to exert a considerable, though reduced, attractive power on the masses in the rest of China. They are a living demonstration of the fact that there is a way out of the awful morass of deprivation, oppression and misery.

That is why Chiang Kai-shek blockades these areas with between 500,000 and 1,000,000 of his troops and sacrifices the defense of China against Japan in order to maintain the blockade. He knows they are a menace — regardless of the reactionary present-day policies of the Stalinists—not only to his regime, but to the whole system of landlord-capitalist oppression for which that regime stands.

If, instead of renouncing their program at the beginning of the war and going cap-in-hand to Chiang for a "united front," the Stalinists had raised still higher the banner of the agrarian revolution, a great nation-wide peasant struggle would have resulted. This would have brought the sorely-oppressed workers to their feet once more. The workers would have provided the peasants with the firm proletarian leadership they require in order to vanquish the landlords and complete the agrarian revolution. Together, the workers and peasants would have swept the rotted Kuomintang regime into limbo. In the searing flames of revolution the invading armies of Japanese imperialism would long since have melted away. The workers and peasants of both China and Japan might by now have their feet set firmly on the broad road leading to a new life under socialism.

The realistic nature of this perspective is sufficiently proved by the fact that sharp and bloody peasant revolts have taken place in Kuomintang China despite the desertion of the agrarian revolution by the Stalinists. In the spring of 1943 there was a violent peasant rebellion in Kansu, close to the border of the Stalinist area. In the summer of the same year there were similar outbreaks in Fukien, far to the southeast, followed by sporadic uprisings in Szechwan (where Chiang's capital of Chungking is situated) and Hupeh. All these revolts were quelled. Leaderless, the peasants were driven once more into submission.

The tasks of the Chinese revolution remain in all their urgency. Despite the Stalinists and against the Stalinists the downtrodden millions of China will take to the road of struggle for a better future, to free their country from imperialist domination and landlord-capitalist oppression. In this great struggle they will find no other leaders but the Trotskyists, who are the consistent, unflinching banner-bearers of the liberating revolution the Stalinists have abandoned and betrayed.

Chinese 8th Army Soldiers

These are soldiers of the Eighth Group Army, which defends the Stalinist-controlled area in northwest China against both the armies of Chiang Kai-shek and the troops of the Japanese imperialists. Until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war, they formed part of what was known as the Chinese Red Army.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES
Australian Communist Party

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Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Tyrants have always been stupid. They have felt well-equipped and safe as long as they have had jails, hangmen, and firing squads. Somehow they never learned that ideas do not die with their originators.

When they shot Joe Hill to death twenty-nine years ago, their murky brains must have held the thought that they were striking a blow against all of labor, against organization of the workers.

They were wrong. They had to be wrong, because they didn't know that Joe Hill wasn't just a man. They didn't know that he was a symbol of his class. The copper bosses pumped their bullets into Joe Hill's body, but the real Joe Hill, the laughter and song, went on to organize.

"'Joe Hill ain't dead,' he says to me,
'Joe Hill ain't never died.
'Where workers strike and organize
'Joe Hill is at their side'."

So says a song about him.

Joe Hill came out of Sweden as a boy into the plains and mountains of the American West. As a man he came into the American labor movement and into the hearts of all its fighters. In those days the I.W.W. was the banner bearer of the working class, so it was into the I.W.W. that Joe Hill brought his courage, his homely humor, and his ability as an organizer.

He became known as a writer of rebel songs. He was one of those who provided a means of expression of the ideals and aspirations of all workers who banded together to work and fight for a better world. To him, nothing was sacred but the fight, and he laughed at all else. He took the gray and solemn hymns from the churches, colored them with impudent words, and laughingly sang them back into the faces of the shocked preachers and moralists of capitalism. Imitating them, but with a most ungodly twinkle in his eye, Joe offered this advice:

"Work and pray, live on hay,
You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

Those workers who selfishly and fearfully took sides with the bosses, resisting organization, Joe Hill lampooned in "Scissor Bill" and "Casey Jones, the Union Scab," who "took a trip to heaven on the S.P. Line."

But always through his songs ran the constant refrain, "Organize! Organize!"

That was his life, and that was his death: to organize the workers, the dispossessed, into a great army to oppose and conquer the expropriators and parasites. During a strike which he organized against the Utah copper mine owners, Joe was arrested on a framed-up murder charge, given a mockery of a trial, and speedily condemned to death by the firing squad.

So twenty-nine years ago tonight, November 19, 1915, Joe Hill sat in his cell, composing his "will": "My will is easy to decide," he wrote with a smile, "For there is nothing to divide." And the next day, before they shot him, he said, "DON'T MOURN FOR ME. ORGANIZE!"

But Joe Hill, the real Joe Hill, didn't die. He lives today. Tomorrow he will be even more alive.

Joe Hill lives in the grins of the American workers. A flash of white teeth in an oil-smeared or coal blackened face, a joke or a song shouted above the roar of machinery—that is Joe Hill.

He lives in every strike. When a worker and a scab swing punches at each other before the gate of a factory, Joe Hill is there.

In the fierce joy of the fight or the smouldering subterranean resentment of bad times, in the laughter and in the anger of the workers, you'll find Joe Hill.

Yes, his will was easy to decide. And there was nothing to divide. What he left us we didn't have to divide, for there was enough to be shared among all workers. He left us his songs, his courage, and his portion of a great fighting tradition. How true are the words of the song:

"Says Joe, 'What they forgot to kill
'Went on to organize'."

10 Years Ago In The Militant

NOVEMBER 17, 1934

WASHINGTON—Under the growing pressure of hungry millions of unemployed, Roosevelt produced his "Social Security" plan to hoodwink the American workers. He proposed a fund for future unemployment insurance, to be set up by a payroll tax augmented by taxes on the meager pay of those workers still employed. He left untouched the entire problem of 12,000,000 already jobless workers. Labeling this scheme as "a sort of company union mutual benefit association with very little benefit at that," **The Militant** pointed out the hearty endorsement of the Big Business mouthpiece, the **N. Y. Times**: "Business leaders hailed the cautious policy enunciated by the President."

NEW YORK—Completing plans for a gigantic nation-wide demonstration of the unemployed to be held November 24, the National Action Committee in charge issued its program of demands. **Eight points included: 1. Federal public works to provide work for the unemployed at trade union rates on the basis of $30 a week for a 30 hour week. 2. Passage of the Lundeen Unemployment Insurance Bill. 3. Immediate direct relief of $10 weekly for single persons, $15 for two, and $4 weekly for each additional dependent. 4. Guaranteed right of organization and collective bargaining for workers on public projects. 5. Recognition of representatives of the organized unemployed by relief agencies. 6. Disability compensation on all public works. 7. Diversion of war funds to relief. 8. A universal 30-hour work week without pay cuts.**

Affiliated in the march were the National Unemployed League, Illinois Workers' Alliance, Eastern Federation of Unemployed and Emergency Workers, Minnesota Central Council of Workers, American Workers Union (Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska), Florida Federation of Unemployed Leagues, Wisconsin Federation of Workers' Committees, Texas Central Council of Workers, and Fort Wayne Unemployed League.

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3. 1879."

To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Who Really Won

The Hillman-Murray leadership of the CIO Political Action Committee boasts that it has won a "great victory" for labor by electing Roosevelt and a "progressive Congress." A CIO-PAC statement proclaims that it was the decisive factor in returning 137 Democratic and Republican "friends of labor" to the House and Senate.

Unquestionably, the election campaign has conclusively demonstrated that the CIO-PAC, as an agency of the labor movement, could rally millions of labor votes for Roosevelt and the other capitalist party candidates which these parties themselves could no longer muster. The most conspicuous example of the workers' distrust of the capitalist parties and their eagerness to support independent political organizations of labor was the huge total of over 800,000 votes polled in New York state for Roosevelt by the American Labor Party and its rival split-off, the Liberal Party. This was more than double the vote secured in 1940 by the ALP.

But what has the working class actually gained by this vast outpouring of its human energies and financial resources, this demonstration of its indubitable power as a political force?

What is this "progressive Congress" of which Hillman and Murray brag? Of the 219 Congressmen who voted for the infamous Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Bill, 191, or 87 per cent, have been reelected, the majority of them Democrats. Among the 17 Senators they boast of electing are no less than 5 Southern Bourbon Democrats, anti-labor champions of "white supremacy," and 2 Republicans who openly championed the interests of the corporations in their campaigns.

The big business reactionaries are as firmly fixed in political power as ever. Roosevelt has been handed a signed blank check by the labor leaders. For this he was not even required to give the customary pre-campaign commitments, meaningless as they are, and, indeed, he repaid the decisive support of CIO-PAC by contemptuously ignoring it through his entire campaign.

Despite organized labor's prodigious electoral activity, thanks to the policies of the labor bureaucrats operating through the apparatus of the CIO-PAC and the American Labor and Liberal Parties, the enemies of labor are riding high. There is not a single independent voice—not one—to speak for and defend labor's interests in Congress. That is the real consequence of the policies of the union bureaucrats who treacherously used the machinery of the CIO-PAC, the ALP and Liberal Party, to abuse the earnest desire of millions of workers for genuine independent labor political action.

But the misuse of the CIO-PAC to provide the illusion of independent labor political action in order to re-elect Roosevelt has succeeded only temporarily in side-tracking the real movement for a labor party. We can be sure that the labor rank and file will soon learn through bitter experience that they have been sold another shoddy political bill of goods. The full meaning of the treachery of the pro-Roosevelt labor leaders is bound to expose itself in the coming period. The realization of this betrayal will impart tremendous force to the labor party sentiment which is going to sweep the American working class.

Traitors To Labor

American labor has received another imperious warning against the deadly menace of Stalinism. During the recent strike of 2,500 San Francisco CIO machinists, the traitorous west coast Stalinist CIO leaders publicly called on the capitalist government to use "armed forces and the appropriate government agencies. . . in any action necessary to halt this or any other strike."

Every decent union man and woman must boil at this unexampled piece of treachery. Never, in the whole annals of the American labor movement, has an entire group of so-called labor leaders appealed openly and brazenly in advance for the big business government to turn bullets and bayonets against all workers striking for their rights.

Step by step, the Stalinists are unfolding the full character of their program for emasculating and disorganizing the independent labor movement. They brought the labor movement's wrath down on their heads when they supported Roosevelt's demand for a forced labor law. They have been the virtually exclusive champions within the ranks of labor of the corporation-sponsored "incentive pay" speedup system. Their notorious strikebreaking actions, as in the Montgomery Ward strike, won the well-merited denunciation of all sectors of organized labor. As exponents of the permanent no-strike surrender to the corporations, they have evoked the publicly-expressed scorn of even conservative union leaders. Now they have descended to the lowest depths of all—appealing for armed forces to strike down and murder their own union brothers.

Over and over again, the Stalinists demonstrate that they are the most malignantly reactionary force within the labor movement. They have not an ounce of responsibility or loyalty to the working class. They are the hireling tools of the despotic Kremlin bureaucracy which employs them to help cement Stalin's alliance with Wall Street imperialism. For that alliance, Stalin seeks to bargain off the American labor movement to its worst enemies.

In defense of its very existence, organized American labor must heed this latest sharp warning. Stalinism will poison and pave the way for the destruction of the militant labor movement unless it is promptly and ruthlessly scourged from the ranks of the working class.

Stalin's Speech

Judging by press reports, the only celebration in the Soviet Union of the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution was the firing of 24-gun salvos to mark the expulsion of the German armies from the last of Soviet soil and a speech by Stalin which did not reflect in the slightest the real spirit and significance of the anniversary.

The Bolshevik Revolution, led by Lenin and Trotsky, put an end to capitalism and landlordism over one-sixth of the earth's surface. Stalin made not the slightest reference to this great historical fact. Nor did he even once mention the name of Lenin, whose political heir and continuator he always claimed to be.

Stalin spoke of the "long-term interests" lying at the basis of the alliance between the "democratic" imperialist brigands and the Soviet bureaucracy. He made no mention of the common interests which should unite the Soviet masses with their class brothers throughout the world. This concept of working-class internationalism used to be the keynote of Bolshevik anniversary celebrations in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, before Stalin and his gang usurped the seats of proletarian power.

Under the Stalin regime, the great triumph of Bolshevism, which represented the beginning of the world-wide socialist revolution, is celebrated no longer in the Soviet Union. The revolutionary traditions of Bolshevism are covered up because they reveal in such glaring fashion the counter-revolutionary retrogression in the first workers' state.

But the ideas and the program of Bolshevism nevertheless live on. The great banner of Lenin, hope and promise of the socialist liberation of all mankind, is now held aloft by the Trotskyists, the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International. Only they now celebrate the Russian Revolution in the spirit of its original leaders and organizers.

The day will come when it will again be celebrated in that spirit in the Soviet Union — a Soviet Union cleansed of the reactionary filth of Stalinism, for we are sure that despite Stalin the traditions of Bolshevism continue to live on in the aspirations and innermost thoughts of the best Soviet workers and Red Army fighters.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor*

Stalin And Lenin

Ed tor:

A militant auto worker friend of mine related the following experience to me. Having become interest in our ideas, he thought he would buy himself some Stalinist literature for purposes of comparison. He looked up the Stalinist bookshop in his town, went down, and got into the following conversation with the woman who ran it.

Auto Worker: "I am interested in Socialism, and I would like to buy some of your pamphlets to learn more about it."

Stalinist: "Well — have you read Browder's book, 'Teheran'?"

Auto Worker: "I read some parts of it in a paper, and I have heard people talking about it. But I can't get something straight;—don't you people want to get rid of Capitalism and put in Socialism, like they did in Russia?"

Stalinist: "Well——if you mean make a revolution, with violence and that sort of thing,—well, no! We don't think that is possible or desirable, even. Of course, we are still for Socialism, but we don't think it is realistic to feel that such a change can be accomplished for a hundred years or so. We believe therefore, that we must support the progressive elements in both the Democratic and Republican parties who stand for international collaboration with the Soviet Union for peace and democracy at home and abroad so why don't you buy Browder's book and see what we mean?"

Auto Worker: "For a hundred years or so! Holy mackerel! And support *what* progressive elements in the Democratic and Republican parties? Why they are *all* phonies as far as labor is concerned. It's taken me a long time to get that into my head, but I know *that* now. But lady for God's sake, don't you people believe in Lenin? I haven't read all he's written, but enough to know that his ideas and yours don't match — what's going on?"

Stalinist: "Well, I can see that you are confused. You don't understand that the ideas that are used to make a revolution may not necessarily be the right ideas for maintaining it. Lenin and his ideas made the revolution, with the help of Stalin, but it has taken Stalin's ideas to safeguard it. Of course Stalin's ideas are different from Lenin's. You couldn't expect Lenin's ideas to be good for ever, could you? *We* are not orthodox Marxists — that's the *Trotskyists*. They are the orthodox believers in the old worn-out ideas of Marxism. They are the dirtiest bunch of traitors to the progressive people in the world. They have been convicted by the Soviet courts of the lowest, rottenest, most criminal, fascist, reactionary.—"

Auto Worker: "Lady—just a mihute please! Are you trying to tell me that Trotskyists, who you say are orthodox Marxists and believe in Lenin's ideas, are also 'criminals,' 'fascists,' 'reactionary,' and so on? You sound as if you mean that Lenin would be all those things too, if he was alive today?"

Stalinist: "Well——how do *you* know how Lenin would have turned out? Look at what happened to all the others who worked with Lenin. Most of them degenerated to the worst kind of criminals and confessed, too. No, we are for Democracy, and if you read Browder's book on the Teheran decisions you will understand everything."

Auto Worker: "I think I need a double-shot. Goodby!"

M. C.
Detroit

Rumanian Jewry

Editor:

Recent reports from Rumania prove that Allied "liberation" spells not "milk and honey" for European Jewry, but the perpetuation of its misery, economic displacement and destitution.

In 1940 Fascist Premier Antonescu forcibly removed all Jews from professions and business, dismissed the majority and sent 65,000 to forced labor camps. Significantly enough, the substitution of his government by Sanatescu's "democratic" regime did not result in their release. As it may have "upset the economy," their release was deferred until now. Now, however, the Jews are learning that they have neither homes nor jobs to return to. Both have been taken by "Aryans." Though the government ostensibly abolished all anti-Jewish laws, its real intentions are laid bare in that "it does not take any action to restore Jewish property and normal rights." (*N. Y. Times*). Employers are not required to reinstate Jews in their former jobs. Even the treacherous Stalinists and Social-Democrats refuse to intervene in their behalf, as they do not wish to "antagonize" the non-Jewish Rumanians.

As a result, 150,000 Rumanian Jews now face starvation or death from cold. They are without clothes and food.

The Rumanian events carry a bitter lesson for those Jews who pin their hopes of survival on an Allied victory. Marxist analysis long ago led us to predict events that today occur in Rumania and tomorrow will take place in the rest of "liberated" Europe. Abrogation of all racial laws, so proudly announced by the Allies, remains a hypocritical gesture, unless followed by actions in the economic field. Presently, by the elimination of these racial laws, *the Jews are now "freed" not only from concentration and forced labor camps, — but also from jobs and homes.*

The post-war problems of "liberated" European Jewry are by no means *solved, but more sharply than ever posed by the Allied occupation.* The European capitalists, unable to provide their own population with jobs and shelter, will certainly not be concerned with the "pariahs" of decaying capitalism — the Jews.

Instead of futile appeals to the bourgeoisie, the Jewish masses in Europe will find their salvation only in a common struggle with the European proletariat in its fight for socialism.

Dan Shelton
New York

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

England

Britain's class-conscious coal miners, fighting vanguard of the working class, have taken a great step forward in the decision, announced in London on November 3, to amalgamate all the mining trade unions of England, Scotland and Wales into "one big union" to be known as the National Union of Mineworkers.

The new union, which will have a membership of 700,000, thus becoming one of the five largest unions in the British Isles, is placing in the forefront of its program a demand for the expropriation of the mine-owners and the establishment of "public ownership and control" of all mines.

A vote among the British miners resulted in 430,630 balloting in favor of the amalgamation, with only 39,464 against. A sum equivalent to about $2,000,000 will be raised to establish the new national union on a country-wide basis.

The coal miners represent the most advanced and militant section of British labor. They were in the vanguard of the great General Strike of 1926 and have been to the fore in the wave of renewed working class struggle which commenced early this year.

Ireland

The Stalinist "Communist" Party of Ireland has issued a statement endorsing the partition of the country. Thereby it has placed itself on the opposite side of the barricades in the struggle of the Irish workers and peasants for independence from Britain and jumped openly into the camp of the imperialist violators.

In Eire, or southern Ireland, the Stalinists dissolved their party in the autumn of 1941 after two years of fruitless campaigning to drag that nominally independent section of the country into the imperialist war on the side of Britain. They opposed De Valera's policy of "neutrality," thereby placing themselves in sharp opposition to the bulk of the Irish workers and peasants who refused to become cannon-fodder for their imperialist oppressors and exploiters.

In Ulster, or northern Ireland, which has been ruled directly from London ever since the partition of the country by the British, the Stalinist party managed to survive, but made no headway among the masses. Now it has made an open bid for British imperialist patronage by endorsing the partition against which the people have fought from the very beginning.

The source of the new "turn" is the Stalin government in Moscow. It is motivated exclusively by Stalin's desire to preserve and strengthen his alliance with Churchill and the British imperialists. The Irish Stalinists have abandoned the struggle for independence and allied themselves with the British colonial bandits exclusively in the interests of Stalin's diplomacy.

By this act of perfidy they have signed their own death warrant as a political force. In Ulster they will meet the same fate that befell them in Eire. The revolutionary workers and peasants will turn their backs on the cynical turncoats.

France

The social-democrats of the French Socialist Party (Second International) are still busy at the job of deceiving and confusing the workers. They talk "socialism" but strive with might and main to prevent the workers from destroying capitalism.

Their organ, *Le Populaire*, published on Sept. 11 an address delivered by Daniel Mayer, the party secretary - general, proclaiming, among other things, support for the reactionary DeGaulle government which even now is trying to disarm the Workers' Militia in order to defend capitalism from the growing threat of socialist revolution.

"The Government," Mayer declared, "has the masses of the people behind it (and) it will have the unconditional support of the Socialist Party."

This statement was made before DeGaulle moved to disarm the workers, but the social-democratic traitors knew all along that this was precisely what DeGaulle intended to do — if he could. They never had any intention of leading the workers to the assault on capitalism. Their job, as of old, is to make capitalism palatable to the workers, to patch it up and try to make it work.

But the workers are revolutionary. They are armed. They refuse to disarm. DeGaulle will try to force disarmament with Allied aid, to render the workers helpless before their class enemy. A stern clash is coming. Where do the "socialists" stand? In advance they gave DeGaulle a clean bill of health and pledged him their "unconditional" support.

But the forces of the socialist revolution are on the march in France. The "socialists" are nervous as they observe the leftward swing of the workers, who, for the time being, are following the Stalinists in the mistaken belief that these agents of the Kremlin will lead them in revolution.

Mayer took cognizance of this in his speech when he said: "I know of only one way to be stronger than the Communists, and that is to bring about a revolution before they do."

The type of "revolution" Mayer has in mind was disclosed in the same speech. He views the "Socialist" Party merely as a pressure group which, by judicious maneuvering, and exploitation of the mass discontent, will force the DeGaulle regime to institute certain "reforms" which will mollify the workers.

This is the classic program of the social-democracy in all countries. It is not a socialist program at all, but a program for the rescue of capitalism. However, all possibilities for durable reforms in France — reforms which would satisfy, even partially, the most urgent needs of the French masses — have long since vanished.

In the period ahead the French workers will thrust aside with scorn and disdain the fake "socialists" of the Second International. The Stalinist traitors, who are playing the same reactionary role, will suffer a similar fate. Trotskyism will come into its own. Under the banner of the Fourth International the French workers will reach their socialist victory.

CIO Economists Predict A Huge Decline In Wages

Most of the big corporations are conducting costly advertising campaigns forecasting a delightful future for its American people under the "free enterprise" monopoly capitalist system. We are treated to visions of plastic pre-fabricated houses, two helicopters in every garage, and new delicious edibles delivered fresh from the Indies in moisture proof pliafilm and quick-freeze units.

This rosy picture is never clouded by the one "little" problem confronting the wage-earning consumers: Will the workers be able to buy all the wonderful things promised in the full-page, four-tone, gloss paper displays of the corporations?

The October CIO Economic Outlook says "No!". On the contrary, it gives weighty reasons for the contrary expectation. Those reasons are deduced from an analysis of the factors making for the $344 million increase in weekly payrolls from January 1941 to April 1944. Citing the findings of the WLB panel in the Steel Case, the Economic Outlook reports that 42.8 per cent of the payroll rise has been due to increased employment. Longer working hours at straight time accounts for 14.7 per cent of the rise, overtime pay for 6.1 per cent, piece rate and "merit" system increases, 13.6 per cent; shifts to higher paid industries, 7.5 per cent. Wage rate changes have increased payrolls only 15.3 per cent.

But, says the Economic Outlook, "as the nation changes back from war to peace, many of the special conditions that contributed to increased earnings and total payrolls will cease. Indeed, only the general wage rate level will not immediately be affected by shorter hours, lay offs and shifts back to peacetime patterns of employment. And even basic rates are not safe from employer pressure."

What are the real prospects? "At full employment and present wage rates, but with 1939 hours and employment pattern (no overtime, shift to lower-paid jobs), payrolls would fall by $14 billion from the $90 billion now being paid in civilian non-agricultural industries. If we go back to the 1939 level of employment, they will fall by $33 billion, or to 63 per cent of their 1943 level . . . Payrolls in manufacturing will drop by $23 billion, or to 42 per cent of the 1943 level, if present rates are maintained but other 1939 conditions prevail."

The "brave new world" of the capitalist advertisements is a myth. Not television sets and such wonders are the prospects for the masses, but second-hand clothes, breadlines and evictions.

GM's 'Post-War Security Fund' For Coupon Clippers

Officials of General Motors, America's largest corporation, threw up their hands in "horror," figuratively speaking, when the CIO United Automobile Workers proposed that the company set up out of war profits a post-war security fund of $150 million for its unemployed workers.

Only recently, however, GM issued a report of its financial health during the first nine months of this year. During this period, its net profits, after all taxes, were $124,997,304, or about $15,500,000 more than for the same period in 1943.

Of course, GM generously provided a security fund for its Big Business owners. Before computing profits, it set aside over $300,000,000 for various "contingencies." This included a $202,765,000 fund, about $32,000,000 more than before, for "taxes." Another $72,353,000 was "reserved" for "price adjustments" on war contracts.

Naturally, the corporations like to play safe, and therefore always put far greater sums in their "reserves" than any anticipated taxes, price revisions or "contingencies" might require. This is a favorite method for concealing profits.

The Mouthings Of A New Capitalist 'Miracle Man'

American capitalism is always heralding a "miracle man" with some new sure-cure for the ills of the system. Not infrequently he is what is known as an "industrial giant" whose bank balance is impressive enough to ensure that his vaporings on economic and political problems will receive widespread publicity. Henry Ford, for instance, has provided many a headline and Sunday sermon text with his invariably wrong opinions on social issues.

Now a new "prophet" is in our midst. He is the "miracle man of war production," Henry J. Kaiser, usually described in the capitalist press as "a genius of a farflung industrial empire." His "genius" mainly consisted of getting in on the ground floor of government war handouts.

This now entitles him to air his views on all subjects, including "Jobs for All," which he recently expounded over the radio. His formula is very neat. To eliminate unemployment, jobs must be "created" for 30,000,000 workers during the first year and a half of "peace" — a condition he described profoundly as simply a "state of mind."

All that's needed, stated Kaiser, is a vast program of construction, houses, hospitals, highways, airports. Let the government continue to hand out oodles of money to industrialists like Kaiser, and they'll "get things done." But the question Kaiser skips is: Why haven't these things been done before?

From 1933 to 1939, the best the New Dealers—then the "liberal" wing of the capitalist buzzard—could offer were largely "leaf-raking" jobs to a couple of million unemployed. A "privileged" minority of the 13,000,000 unemployed got brief starvation-pay WPA jobs, while big business contractors were pulled out of impending bankruptcy.

The projects Kaiser envisages are fine. Labor has advocated them for years. But they will be secured only against the profit-interests and opposition of all the Kaisers and other capitalists, when the government itself operates at full capacity its huge war-acquired industrial plant, nationalizes the basic industries, and establishes peacetime production under workers control.